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**Ka haere tonu te mana o ngā wahine Māori:
Māori women as protectors of te ao Māori knowledge**

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Abstract:

Māori women play a critical role in whānau, hapū and iwi as whare tangata (procreators) and as whare mātauranga (repositories of knowledge). Wahine hold specific knowledge pertaining to their roles and responsibilities. As the primary nurturer to their young, they have a prime opportunity to provide this essential knowledge to the next generation. Historically, this occurred through oriori; however in recent times these processes have evolved to include technological advancements in communication. This research examined the nature of te ao Māori knowledge and the processes used to transmit it through three generations of Māori women in three whānau. It explores the roles and responsibilities of Māori women in pre-colonial Māori society, the influences of the colonisation process and Māori women's resilience to continue to pass on the practices of their tūpuna.

The methodology drew on aspects of three different theories in order to address the needs of the participants as historically oppressed, minority indigenous Māori women. Critical theory acknowledged the oppression and minority status as well as encouraging the sharing of experiences. Kaupapa Māori theory localised the issues of Māori in relation to the colonisation process and mana wahine theory identifies the significant roles and responsibilities of Māori women as leaders/agents of change within their whānau, hapū and iwi. A qualitative approach allowed the information gathered to be conducted similarly to Māori oral traditions. It was identified from the understandings gathered from the participants that significant te ao Māori knowledge has been passed down through the generations. It also showed that the knowledge has changed from generation to generation and the passing on of knowledge has also changed due to the social and technological advancements associated with development and outside influences on the younger generation.

This thesis confirms that Māori women are resilient and some have been able to continue to pass on te ao Māori knowledge despite the challenges of the rural to urban shift and the effects of colonisation. It also encourages women and whānau who have not been privilege to this knowledge to begin the journey to reclaim their right and provides some strategies for doing this. It celebrates the voices of three whānau who have demonstrated their strength to maintain the philosophies of traditional Māori.

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Table of Contents:

Abstract:	ii
Acknowledgements:	iii
Table of Contents:	iv
Chapter One: Introduction	8
Aims of Research	8
Rationale.....	9
Research Approach	10
Key definitions	12
Key Issues	14
Chapter outline	15
Conclusion	16
Chapter Two: Te ao Māori - pre 1840	17
Introduction	17
Cosmology.....	17
Balance	19
Leadership	19
Wairua	20
Birthing Practices.....	21
Hinengaro	22
Whānau, Hapū, Iwi	22
Whakapapa.....	24
Transmission of knowledge	24
Conclusion	25
Epilogue.....	25
Chapter Three: Contemporary Te Ao Māori	27
Introduction	27
Kuia: 1930- 1960	27
Introduction	27
Urbanisation.....	27

Pregnancy and Parenting	28
Religion and Christianity Influences	29
Health	29
Whānau	30
Education	30
Leadership	31
Transmission of Knowledge.....	32
Tikanga	32
The Link.....	33
Whāea: 1960-1990	34
Introduction	34
Leadership	34
Parenting	35
Religious Influences versus Spirituality	36
Health	37
Education.....	38
Feminism	38
Social Policy	39
The Link.....	40
Kōtiro: 1990- 2010	40
Introduction	40
Leadership	41
Whānau	41
Health	42
Identity	43
Knowledge	44
Whakapapa.....	44
Tikanga	45
The Link.....	45
Conclusion	46
Chapter Four: Methodology.....	48
Qualitative Approach	48

Critical Theory.....	49
Kaupapa Māori Theory	49
Mana Wahine Theory	50
Indigeneity	51
Research Design	51
Selection of the Participants	52
Participant Consent	52
Data Collection	53
Equipment and preparation	54
Thematic Analysis.....	54
Transcribing	54
Ethical Considerations.....	55
Ethical issues.....	55
Conclusion	57
Chapter Five: Results.....	59
Introduction.....	59
The Whānau	59
Traditional te ao Māori.....	60
Contemporary te ao Māori.....	62
Cultural practices and activities	67
Transmission of knowledge	74
Conclusion	77
Chapter Six: Discussion	79
Traditional Te ao Māori.....	79
Contemporary Te ao Māori.....	81
Cultural Practices.....	83
Spirituality/Christianity	84
Healing Interventions.....	85
Birthing Practices/Returning the Whenua.....	86
Transmission of Knowledge.....	87
Continuity for the future	88
Conclusion	89

Chapter Seven: Conclusion and Recommendations	91
Summary of Chapters.....	91
Objectives fulfilled.....	92
My Personal Journey	94
The participant whānau	94
Further Research opportunities	95
Recommendations/Considerations.....	96
Conclusion	98
Glossary	99
Appendices:	101
Participant Information Sheet	101
Participant consent form.....	105
Bibliography:	106

Chapter One: Introduction

Māori women are a great asset to te ao Māori,¹ as they both nourish as well strengthen our future generations as whare tangata and protectors of knowledge (Binney & Chaplin, 1986; Irwin, 1991; Mikaere, 2003; Moeke-Pickering, 1996; Pihama, 2001; 2002; Te Awekotuku, 1991). They play a critical role in the growth and development of their young as well as helping to shape and form their futures. As their primary nurturer they transmit knowledge to their child/ren from an early age which in turn helps to form their worldviews and values.

Te ao Māori knowledge has historically been passed down orally through the generations and women have played critical roles in ensuring the transmission of this knowledge (Nepe, 1991; Smith, L., 2003). Throughout history there has been considerable impact on the way in which knowledge has been passed down in Māori communities (Walker, 1990), including what is passed down and who transmits the knowledge in whānau. This study explored Māori women as receivers of te ao Māori knowledge and considers the changes that have affected these women in their role as transmitters of this knowledge to the next generation.

Aims of Research

The research explored Māori women's understandings of te ao Māori and how this has been passed down through three generations of Māori women from three different iwi. It endeavoured to answer the question, *'Are Māori Women the protectors of te ao Māori knowledge?'*

The objectives were to:

Identify the roles and responsibilities of Māori women in a Māori society pre European contact (before 1800s).

Consider how te ao Māori knowledge has been transmitted down through recent generations of women from different iwi groups.

Explore the impact that colonisation had on the transmission of te ao Māori knowledge.

Determine how te ao Māori knowledge can contribute to the future aspirations of Māori women.

¹ Māori referred by Western translation means "ordinary, fresh, native people" (Ryan, 1997:147). Further expression around using the term "Māori" in this thesis will be discussed later.

Rationale

This topic initially arose as a result of my own personal experiences of intergenerational transmission of te ao Māori knowledge or a lack of it (Carter, 1998; Davidson, 2006; Reid, 1995). I grew up in the South Island in a home of mixed heritage; Māori and Pākehā which meant that there was more than one way of doing things in our household (Carter, 1998). Most of my worldview was shaped by my mother who was the main caregiver in the home. Her family had immigrated to New Zealand two generations before her and she was from a white middle class family from Nelson. Her family values emphasized the importance of proper physical appearance and appropriate European and Scottish mannerisms (King, 1991). For example, a pristine white table cloth dressed the dinner table every night, and my sister and I were immaculately dressed in identical outfits, even though there was four years difference in our ages.

My father came from a small rural predominantly Māori town called Horoera, Te Araroa, on the East Coast of the North Island. His large whānau lived and worked on the whānau land and had a lot of involvement with their marae. However, in the late 1960s he moved away from his papakainga to the South Island in search of employment, where he met my mother. He seldom returned home to the East Coast of the North Island or took his children because of the distance and the financial costs, or for his own personal reasons. He taught us about the basics of living; how to run a household, how to prepare a food garden and ensured that our work ethic was of a high standard. He did not teach us anything about our cultural background.

I am the middle child of three who grew up in a small urban family setting in the South Island in the 1970s-1980s. We lived alongside many Pākehā families, a long distance from our Māori ancestral roots (Durie, M. 2006). When I attended high school in Timaru I became aware of the opinions of my peers and other influential people about cultural difference (King, 1991; Reid, 1995). This was the first time that I was confronted with the fact that my cultural identity was under negative scrutiny from others who did not share the same heritage.

Another childhood influence in my extended family was the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (LDS). Many of my whānau were and still are strongly involved, as some of the beliefs of the church are based around family values (Solomon, 2007). While the church no longer has a strong influence in my life in my adulthood, it was nonetheless very influential in my growing years, providing me with an opinionated perspective in to my spirituality.

We were not affiliated to any marae in South Canterbury and any lessons we learnt about the history of Aotearoa/New Zealand occurred through my mainstream schooling,

which was minimal. The education system during the 1970s-1980s did not accommodate for te ao Māori learning but rather focused on generalized colonial assumptions of Māori society (Tomlins-Jahnke, 1997; Smith, L., 1992).

All of these influences started a journey where I began questioning my cultural heritage as an Ngāpuhi and Ngāti Porou woman living in Aotearoa/New Zealand. This calling has been referred to as a karanga or a fire burning deep inside to describe that hunger to discover more about your cultural worldview. “This fire began when my mauri,² brought together my tinana (physical) and my wairua. It is my mauri which called fourth my potential to be Māori” (Carter, 1998:86). Like Carter my journey entailed the bringing together of my physical self with my spiritual self and in essence led to who I am. This has not been an easy journey given that I did not know much about my whānau, hapū and iwi and as ostensibly this was knowledge that was not valued by my parents at the time. I knew that I wanted to pursue my identity as Māori but was not sure where I would find this.

University provided another opportunity where I learnt about pre colonial and post colonial Aotearoa/New Zealand as well as an analysis of our society in more contemporary times. This learning would lead to the topic for this research. Exploring how Māori women across three generations transmit their knowledge to other women within their whānau is a reflection of where I am in my personal journey and the new set of questions that I ask about Māori society. I have faced many barriers in my journey therefore the research also explores the barriers to the transmission of this knowledge across the three generations.

Research Approach

Research is about the gathering of knowledge (Mahuika, 2008; Te Awekotuku, 1991) and non Māori researchers have spent many years gathering knowledge about Māori. Research that has been completed on Māori groups by non-Māori has historically lacked accuracy and has been disempowering (Irwin, 1994; Mahuika, 2008, Royal, 1992; Smith, L., 1992; 1999; Walker, 1985). More recently there has been considerable critique of research approaches that do not allow the participants to be an integral part of their own knowing. In addition, Māori have become very critical and wary of people who want to undertake research “on” them. Nepe (1991) believes that Kaupapa Māori is a body of knowledge that began with the beginning of time and is a part of Māori culture, Māori language and Māori identity. Historically, the method used for the transmission of knowledge was oral. These histories or oral narratives are common within te ao Māori as well as other indigenous cultures (Malcolm-Buchanan, 2008). Smith, L. (1999:144) states “stories are ways of

² Mauri is used in context of my inner life or life principle (Ryan, 1997) and the divine connection between the physical body and the spiritual energy.

passing down the beliefs and values of a culture in the hope that the new generations will treasure them and pass the story down further". Smith, L. (1999:145) also indicates that the story shared "serves to connect the past with the future, one generation with the other, and the land with the people and the people with the story".

A qualitative approach which allowed for a Kaupapa Māori methodology was chosen for this research because it ensured that the Māori women's stories or narratives were respected (Pihama, 2002; Te Awekotuku, 1991). It meant that as the researcher I would firstly listen to the women and thereby privilege their voices (Strauss & Cobin, 1998:43). Qualitative approaches also utilise a *kanohi ki te kanohi*,³ approach which is pivotal to oral traditions practiced by Māori.

The methodology was informed by Kaupapa Māori theory, Critical theory and Mana Wahine theory. Employing aspects from each of these theories provided a space that enabled Māori women to share their unique experiences about their celebrations and/or struggles and their knowledge and understandings. Key elements are drawn from each theory to form the foundation for this research.

Kaupapa Māori theory has provided a 'for Māori by Māori' approach towards research (Irwin, 1994). It allows Māori to articulate their own lived experiences and own realities while acknowledging that "Māori have fundamentally different ways of seeing and thinking about the world..." (Mahuika, 2008:4). Bell (2006:56) states that "a Kaupapa Māori approach gives validation to a Māori worldview of knowledge". Smith, G. (1997:85) asserts that although Kaupapa Māori is connected to Māori philosophies and principles of *te ao Māori*, it is acknowledged that its founding ideologies are likened to Critical theory where "the notions of critique, resistance, struggle and emancipation" are promoted. While Kaupapa Māori theory has been informed by critical theory, it is nonetheless a localized version to Aotearoa. Critical theory has a particular focus on the understanding of power by looking at the inequalities and oppression that disenfranchised communities have been faced with. In Aotearoa/New Zealand this is very much the case for Māori and for Māori women. Critical theory suggests that Māori women may be in a state of "false consciousness" (Munford & Walsh-Tapiata, 2001:23) believing that this is true. The vulnerable position that they find themselves in has been strongly influenced by colonisation. Critical theory has been accepted by many Māori writers because in addition to an analysis of power there is a validation of the use of narratives or as a means of talking (Bennie, 1996; Mead, L. 1996; Munford & Walsh-Tapiata, 2001:23; Rees, 1991). Critical theory allows the research to identify the double oppression that Māori women were faced with, firstly as Māori and secondly as women. An analysis of how colonisation has affected their lives as well as encapsulating the emancipation of Māori women and their ability to assert their *mana* in their own lives is considered.

³Kanohi ki te Kanohi - face to face, conversational stance (Smith, 2003)

Mana Wahine theory evolved out of feminist theory. However, while aspects of feminist theory are relevant to Māori women, aspects that derive from a cultural context also need to be included. This theoretical perspective encourages the sharing of Māori women's experiences and utilizes tools designed to draw out a Māori women's perspective from their own lives. Mikaere (2003:141) highlights that no matter where you come from or what your upbringing is, Māori women are all "connected to whakapapa, to one another and to our Māoriness". Celebrating that privilege by passing on important and significant knowledge to other Māori women enhances our strengths and successes. Mana Wahine theory takes into consideration the struggles that Māori women have endured over time (Pihama, 2002). It also validates the position of Māori women in society and "affirms Māori women's mana and uplifts the status of Māori women" (Pihama, 2001:236). Despite the comparison to Western Feminism, Pihama (2002) encourages Māori women to take control of their own theories and develop theoretical frameworks that are specific to Māori women. In other words, she encourages "Māori women's theories within Māori epistemologies" (Pihama, 2002:370).

An open ended interview which included kanohi ki te kanohi (Bishop, 1996; Smith, L., 2003) was the methods employed to gather the data. This ensured that the three generations of women from each whānau could openly express their views about te ao Māori knowledge from the time periods in which they grew up. This allowed a sharing of stories between the generations in each whānau but when the data was analyzed across the three families there was also some comparison within generations (Dyck & Kearns, 1995).

Key definitions

There are certain terms that are used in this thesis which need some clarification so that the reader has a similar understanding to the writer. In addition, a glossary will be provided, but the terms discussed here are those used most regularly throughout this thesis.

'Māori' is used to describe Tangata Whenua or People of the Land,⁴ (Smith, L., 2003). It is acknowledged however that in pre European times, Māori identified themselves by their own whānau, hapū and iwi affiliations (Buck, 1982; Walker, 1986; Moeke-Pickering, 1996). The word 'Māori' was used by the colonial settlers to identify the whole group of indigenous peoples of Aotearoa. Smith, L. (2003:6) states that the term 'Māori' described the nature of the colonial relationship between 'Māori' and 'Pākehā',⁵ rather than acknowledging the unique history of each tribe (Rangihau, 1975). Today Māori is still a word used to identify a particular ethnic group who have a strong sense of identity and do not necessarily prefer to

⁴ Māori refers to the indigenous population of Aotearoa/New Zealand, Tangata Whenua refers to the people of the land which is a term used in te reo Māori to distinguish the indigenous population prior to the arrival of European settlers.

⁵ Pākehā is a term used to identify non-Māori or Europeans. Another term used is Tauīwi.

be known as being from a specific tribal area. There is also a general understanding that Māori are the tangata whenua or indigenous people from Aotearoa.

‘Te ao Māori’ represents the world of Māori, their beliefs, values, principles and philosophies which derive from a Māori worldview (Cheung, 2008; Mead, H., 2003; Royal, 2002). It includes the relationship with the past, the present and the future. It is recognised, however, that over time there has been considerable change in the nature of the te ao Māori world and it is this very issue and the transmission of this knowledge across the generations which is the focus of this research topic.

Kuia, Whāea and **Kōtiro** are te reo Māori terms that identify the three distinct generations of Māori women within this research. According to Williams Dictionary (1991) Kuia denotes a grandmother or an elderly female relative. Whāea represents mother or aunt and kōtiro is a girl. It is acknowledged that there are tribal variances,⁶ and other generic terms,⁷ used to describe these generations, however, for the purposes of this research the terms kuia, whāea and kōtiro are used because they are non-iwi specific and are commonly used within Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Colonisation is a term used to describe the assimilation of one cultures ideologies and influences upon another culture (Smith, L., 2003; Walker, 1990). Bell, (2006:10) offers this definition:

A process motivated by racism and greed that involves one group of people (the coloniser) taking control of decision making in regards to resources and assuming influence over social structures, in another people’s (the colonised) land.

This research will consider the aspects of colonisation that have impacted on the transmission of te ao Māori knowledge for these Māori women across the generations. It will also consider what te ao Māori knowledge has changed as a consequence of colonisation. Robson and Reid (2001:3) state, “It would be naive to think that the institutions of whānau, hapū and iwi have been untouched by the processes of colonisation”. Similarly, it would be naive to think that te ao Māori knowledge and its transmitters have been unchanged by colonisation. Colonisation in itself is a big topic but the particular emphasis in this research is to highlight those issues identified by Māori women.

⁶Koka is used by Ngāti Porou iwi and Hākuī by Ngāi Tahu and Rangitāne to identify mother. Matua Wahine is female parent (Buck, 1977).

Taua is also used by Ngai Tahu in some instances to represent an older person/ grandmother.

⁷ Other generic terms for mother are Māmā, Whāea, Whaene and Whaerere (Williams Dictionary, 1991; Buck 1977) Other names for grandmother are Kui, Kuini and other names used for girl have been Hine, kohine, wahine, Tamahine (daughter).

Key Issues

The conception of time and space is a key issue considered within this study. Contrary to the western importance of the time piece or the yearly calendar, time and space for Māori can be freely calculated by familiar events in their lives such as the birth of the first mokopuna, the death of a kuia, the eruption of a mountain or the fruitful harvest of a crop (Metge, 1976; Smith, L., 2003). Therefore, specific dates are not as important as the happenings of that time. Time is often associated with generations, specific events, people or geographical changes. This research uses the three generations and their associated time markers to guide the discussions both within the generations and across the generations. On occasion, dates are referred to as well as events (Metge, 1967b). The unique experiences that the participants share are important as that defines their particular perspectives. It is acknowledged that the chosen time periods that represent the three generations are specific, however when recruiting the participants it was realised that these time periods were only a guide and that the criteria was not always met. For example, one of the participants was not born within the specified time period.

Space in this instance not only supports the safe environment created for the participants but the *ihi*, *wehi*, and *wana* of the *kōrero* within the particular realm. Agnew (1993) defines common usages of space where social processes take place and the concepts of *ihi*, *wehi* and *wana* are displayed within a *haka* as part of expressing the emotions to the audience, but in this sense, *ihi* can be identified as 'awe-inspiring', *wehi* is a response of 'fear or respect' and *wana* is captured as the 'thrill or the excitement' of the process (Mathews, 2004). This explains the participant's emotional reactions during the interviews. Therefore, the conception of time and space within this research is not rigid and respects fluidity which acknowledges the notion of '*a te wa*' or it will happen when the time and space are right.

The transmission of knowledge looks at how *te ao Māori* knowledge has been passed down from each generation. This includes formally such as through *waiata*, *pūrākau*, *oriori*, *whakataukī*, art form and the written word. More recently we have seen these mediums of communication being transmitted in new and unique ways, via the internet, television and *kapa haka*. The object of this research is partly to explore if despite the mediums, the knowledge of our *tūpuna* is still being transmitted down through the generations.

It also acknowledges that Māori women were historically guardians and transmitters of *te ao Māori* knowledge. *Te Awekotuku* (1991) and *Mikaere* (2003:56) indicate that Māori women's special role in gathering and transmitting knowledge was evident in the range of *waiata* that have been composed by them and handed down through the generations. This research examines how Māori women have and continue to pass on *te ao Māori* knowledge to their daughters and their grandchildren.

Chapter outline

The introduction chapter has outlined the aims and objectives of the research, the approach employed and the rationale and motivation for undertaking this research. Key issues and definitions have also been explained and an overall structure to the thesis is provided.

Chapter Two discusses Māori cosmology and Māori women prior to European contact. It covers some of the key concepts of te ao Māori for Māori women such as the connection with Papatūānuku, leadership, physical and spiritual roles and Māori women as *whare tangata*. It discusses the balance of both men and women and the roles and responsibilities Māori women had, to ensure the continuity of knowledge being passed down to the next generation.

Chapter Three is divided into three sections representing the three generations and their respective time periods. It begins with a brief summary of the early settler period and impacts of colonisation up until World War II. Key events and issues that influence the flow of te ao Māori knowledge from generation to generation are discussed. For example, *Kuia* who grew up in the 1930s-1960s were heavily influenced by changes such as the rural-urban shift, the impact of the Second World War, the Depression, a decrease in *whānau* size and the influences of Christianity. *Whāea* who grew up in the 1960s-1990s witnessed protest groups advocating cultural revitalisation and their achievements such as te reo Māori becoming an official language, the development of *Kōhanga Reo* Language Nests and government responsiveness towards Māori. *Kōtiro* who grow up in the 1990s-2010 are able to partake in an advanced shift towards information technology and easy access to te ao Māori knowledge on the World Wide Web (www). Māori youth have taken an interest in international trends. All of these continue to have considerable impact on the nature of te ao Māori knowledge and the transmitting of this to the future generation.

Chapter Four explains the methodology and methods used for this research. It outlines the three theories, *Mana Wahine*, *Kaupapa Māori* and Critical theory. It highlights the qualitative approach in relation to the notion of *kanohi ki te kanohi* similarly to the passing of oral traditions. Ethical considerations and dilemmas are identified in terms of Massey University requirements as well as the issues that occurred when the interviews were conducted. This chapter also looks at the selection and criteria process for recruiting the participants.

Chapter Five presents the data from the three sets of interviews with the *kuia*, *whāea* and *kōtiro*. The data has been collated and presented in themes. It is important that the voices of the participants are heard and therefore direct quotes from the interviews are used to emphasize the key issues and considerations with regards to the passing on of Māori knowledge.

Chapter Six analyses the interviews and literature (chapter two and three) using thematic analysis. The commonalities and differences within each generation as well as across the generations highlights the importance of te ao Māori to the generations who were interviewed but also to future generations.

Chapter Seven provides the conclusions and recommendations of the research. It is hoped that the recommendations will provide Māori women with assistance in the development of their whānau, hapū and iwi. It also highlights my own personal learning's around this research and the journey that I went through in relation to undertaking this research and writing this thesis. The conclusion also offers an opportunity to identify areas for further research for Māori women, and the transmission of knowledge across generations.

Conclusion

This chapter has set the scene for this thesis; the research that was undertaken is to consider the transmission of te ao Māori across three generations of Māori women. In looking at te ao Māori, it is important that we start at the beginning when there were no outside influences. Therefore the next chapter endeavours to look at the way Māori women lived prior to European contact. It will also outline some of the key narratives of Māori cosmology pertaining to the role Māori women fulfilled in te ao Māori.

Chapter Two: Te ao Māori - pre 1840

*Ko Hine-ruhi koe, te wahine nāna i tū te ata hāpara,*⁸

Introduction

Understanding how our tūpuna lived and the specific roles and responsibilities that women had in te ao Māori pre 1840 is the focus of this chapter. The creation of wahine, wahine cosmologies, the balance between female and male and wahine leadership will be considered. During this time period the woman's role was significant in ensuring the continuation of generations, where they were the *whare tangata*, the producers of the next generation. They also held a wealth of te ao Māori knowledge. The spiritual wealth or *wairua* that was knowledge acquired from female deities, the physical wellbeing of a woman when procreating surrounded by the practices associated with *tapu* and *noa* and surviving in the challenges of the environment (Durie, M., 2006) will also be discussed. The role and responsibilities within the social structures of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* will be considered, as well as certain *tikanga* that governed the daily living activities of Māori women. The literature about this time period is sparse however it highlights the various perspectives of the different writers who studied those generations. The sparsity of information may also be because Māori were primarily an oral culture and retained their knowledge through narratives like stories, art and music. Therefore, the writing in this chapter will be further supported by such oral narratives.

Cosmology

To some cosmology is equal to evolution (Best, 1924), while others see cosmology as a method of expression of inner thoughts and psychological thinking which makes explicit cultural values (Marsden, 2003:16). Many researchers who have written about Māori cosmology tend to refer to the creation stories of myths and legends as somewhat fictional (Walker, 1990; Alpers, 2001). The belief of the earth and sky joined together and then forced apart by trees, the elements and the sea bears a slightly implausible fabrication. However, Smith, L. (2003) highlights that this view is a result of a western impression of history. Marsden (1992:3) believes that myths and legends in a Māori context are founded from

⁸ You are like Hine-ruhi, the woman who caused the wonder of the dawn to appear.

ancient seers and sages who capture a worldview around “the relationship between the creator, the universe and man”. Therefore, in acknowledging the existence of such stories and philosophies it is important that this knowledge is protected so that the next generation can ensure its continuity.

Despite the different tribal interpretations of the cosmologies, often the key players remain the same and the concepts are very similar (Alpers, 2001; Hibbs, 2006; Jenkins, 1992; Walker, 1990). The role of the woman in cosmology and the influence that the woman has in the creation of humankind has been considerable. Hibbs (2006:4) states that “the majestic procreating power and awesome reproductive energy of wahine; is a totally unique energy responsible for helping create the world”. Women’s roles and responsibilities within cosmology were often to ensure that the creation of whakapapa was formed and maintained. For example, Papatūānuku, the earth mother (who was born out of Te Pō, the darkness) had a relationship with Ranginui, the sky father. Their love for each other produced many children who hungered for light and led them to separating their parents. Tāne, one of the children then longed for female company and so he created Hine-ahu-one (the first female) out of clay and together they produced a daughter, Hine-tī-tama. To continue the lines of whakapapa, Tāne and Hine-tī-tama had children. Not knowing that Tāne was actually her father, Hine-tī-tama confronted him and with shame returned to Te Pō. The significance of Hine-tī-tama’s transformation into Hine-nui-te-pō is that she then became the god of the underworld and greets humankind at death (Hibbs, 2006:5; Walker, 1990).

Best (1924) wrote about the influence that Papatūānuku had in creating woman and eventually consuming man who became mortal and therefore lost his mystical status. However, Orbell (1995) emphasizes Papatūānuku as having more of a nurturing role and thereby providing the necessities to man and children. Mikaere (2003) agrees with the concept that Papatūānuku influenced the creation of woman and explores the ‘uha’ or the female reproductive element that nurtures and cares for their young, all of which stems from the role of Papatūānuku. Morehu (2005:15) supports that the nurturing role of women pre colonisation began with Papatūānuku and these teachings have since been passed through the generations of women. Smith, L. (2003) on the other hand believes that the practices of our tūpuna wahine survived as a result of knowledge of the environment and the practical ways of managing social systems rather than the philosophies of Papatūānuku. None-the-less the female deities have a significant bearing on women during this period as these cosmologies formed the foundation by which they learnt their place in the world. They learnt specific rules and regulations, roles and responsibilities that enabled them to survive in the terrain. The young were nurtured to pass on their important learning, to hand these down through the generations.

Balance

Within a traditional Māori view of the world there was a balance of the roles between men and women. Mikaere (2003:144) suggests that this context of balance was active before European contact but that colonisation destroyed the balance between men and women within Māori communities and that the equilibrium must be restored. While it is evident in cosmologies that women had an essential part to play in the formation of humankind, the male element was just as important to complete the balance. Durie, M. (1985:48) states that “the foundation of mana wahine and mana tāne enables us to establish spiritual, as well as cognitive, emotional and physical connections with others who emanate from Papatūānuku”. Stanley (2002:83) emphasizes that “under the principle of mana tangata our bipartite partners are achieved through mana wahine. Metge (1967a:214) too agrees with the complimentary roles between woman and man highlighting that one cannot exist without the other but that each has different uniqueness and distinctiveness. Pihama (2001:185) critiques writers like Best (1924) who saw Papatūānuku as a ‘passive force’. Pihama (2001:185) believes that the notion of passive “disregards the centrality of Papatūānuku within Māori society” and that Best’s (1924) ideologies come from a colonial perception. Pihama (2001:185) views Papatūānuku as a nurturer in her own right where all living things return to her as the connector of life and land. Overall, there seems to be an agreement that men and women have differing but complimentary roles and the balance between them both is an important aspect of humanity.

Leadership

Literature of oral narratives in the form of waiata and pūkōrero discuss the many leadership roles that Māori women played traditionally. Binney and Chaplin (1986:24) stated that women could be tohunga or have chiefly roles and that some of these roles have been passed down through whānau, hapū and iwi. Women also played roles as both instigators and peacemakers during tribal warfare and were able to turn situations from a sacred space back into an ordinary space. Cosmology shows that women figures are at the beginning and at the end of life with the presence of Papatūānuku at birth and Hine-nui-te-pō waiting for humans to enter the spirit world. Binney and Chaplin (1986) discuss that women are the channel between the spiritual and human realms which was conferred through karanga, waiata, karakia or the practice of being in a state of tapu.

Assumptions of leadership within te ao Māori are primarily that man dominated the leadership over women (Mead, L., 1996; Mikaere, 1994). However, this negates the fundamental balance between men and women and the connection they had to all living things, the environment and whakapapa. It also undermines the variety of leadership roles involved in te ao Māori. For example, Māori women as transmitters of knowledge through waiata, whakataukī and haka had a role to deliver this to the next generation. Leadership roles within Māori society often cemented relationships amongst whānau, hapū and iwi and these were just as likely to be women. Whare Tūpuna were named after women who took on the role of leading the hapū and iwi (Mikaere, 1997). This is particularly evident around the East Coast tribes where women were predominant among the tribal leaders. When a woman was born into the position of leader within the whānau this was held in high regards. Marriage was another way of determining leadership within tribes. Leadership through whakapapa ensured continual lines of leaders within the iwi. The greatest possible respect according to Heuer (1972) for a woman is a *wahine-ariki*,⁹ although some East Coast tribes used the term *hakurangi*,¹⁰. Leadership was very important in te ao Māori and the role was taken seriously (Mead, L., 1996). These forms of leadership were attained through whakapapa, but there are also examples of leadership by women in order to save the tribe or to lead it into fruition.

Wairua

The word wairua loosely translated means two waters. Water, in all its forms comes from one of two sources...it either arrives as rain from Ranginui or it comes as a spring, breast milk, from Papatūānuku' (Hibbs, 2006:6). Pere (1988) uses a metaphoric approach by describing wairuatanga as a flowing river embracing each generation (the past, present and future) and their relationship with the environment.

The spiritual aspect for Māori women within the realm of te ao Māori was important within their lives because it was central to the way they lived. For example, tapu and noa concepts drove the functioning of everyday living and ensured that spiritual balance was related to survival and safety of the community (Marsden, 1992; Mikaere, 2003:24). Tapu and noa can be likened to right and wrong, clean and unclean, safe and unsafe (Durie, M., 2001; Metge, 1967a) which depicts opposites, "the two concepts go together as a set and cannot be properly understood except in relation to each other" (Metge, 1967a:210). When tapu is placed on something there are certain rituals that occur to return it to a noa status which makes it safe or unrestricted again. Certain rituals may include karakia, cleansing of

⁹ Wahine Ariki can be loosely translated as a female chief or of higher status, it can also represent Tohunga status who were responsible for traditional healing (Heuer, 1972)

¹⁰ Hakurangi depicts a treasure, precious or possession (Williams, 1991).

water and removal of the restriction or even an apology. An example of Māori women practicing tapu and noa concepts is through the delivery of karanga. Karanga is a specialized art performed mainly by women. It is the realm in which the spiritual meets reality and the channel or passage is through the wahine. Ferris (2004) likens the sound of the karanga to the sound of a woman giving birth. Hibbs (2006:6) agrees that the sound is more internal and a “re-enactment and tribute to the ritual of birth”. The karanga gives out important information for the manuhiri to receive so that they can respond to the tangata whenua. It is also the first conversation between two women acknowledging their presence on the marae. The concept in honouring the past, present and future is apparent in karanga (Hibbs, 2006). While performing the karanga the woman is in a state of tapu and to return to noa again can be celebrated by the sharing of food. This is a significant role for woman and was taken very seriously due to the spiritual aspect of it. Māori women in specific were known to journey into two worlds, the physical and spiritual. Jenkins (1992) affirms that Māori women have the power to open up the underworld to everyone who enters by referring to the role of Hine-nui-te-pō.

Birth Practices

The physical aspect unifies the connection between spiritual and mental well being. Wahine have a unique role that enables them to carry out their designated duties as whare tangata. For Māori women, their bodies were treated with the utmost tapu during the times of menstruation, pregnancy and child bearing (Metge, 1967a). Madden (1997:34) comments about the spiritual connection to Papatūānuku and the flow of blood into the soil. However, Best (1924:97) relates menstruation with sickness and the stages of the moon. Certainly, there is literature that supports Māori women as whare tangata (the house of humankind) and menstruation is a part of that process (Madden, 1997; Mikaere, 2003; Morehu, 2005). There were also tikanga that had to be abided by during these times. Mikaere (2003:32) highlights the tapu connected with menstruation and pregnancy which prohibited women from preparing and cooking food, taking part in certain ceremonies or rituals or doing any heavy work. Women had certain rituals of tapu that they adhered to with regards to childbirth, menstruation and womanly cleansing. An example of this is that swimming or gathering food in the sea was forbidden in times of the menstrual cycle to prevent the flow of blood in the water attracting sharks or contaminating the food source. Young girls were expected to observe adult women in order to learn the intricate stages of pregnancy and motherhood. It would be very extraordinary if a young girl was not clear about what was expected of her and what was required to be prepared for her first pregnancy (Wepa & Te

Huia, 2006:27). The passing down of these practices and processes were important to ensure continuity of whakapapa within whānau, hapū and iwi.

Childbirth often took place in a separate dwelling called the *whare kōhanga* or outside in the open air (Durie, M., 1998b; Mikaere, 1994; Wepa & Te Huia, 2006). *Hine-tei-waiwa* was the goddess of child birth and *karakia* was recited to her in order to ease the birth (Mikaere, 1994:35). Other women from the whānau would assist with the processes of birthing and *tohunga* were responsible for the reciting of whakapapa during the birth. Wepa and Te Huia (2006:28) also describe an atmosphere of *waiata*, storytelling, laughter, *rongoā*, *mirimiri* and warm baths to help the expected mother through the labour of birth. The chanting of whakapapa was repeated over and over to create an ambience of relaxation for the expected mother and welcome in the new born (Madden, 1997). The cord or *iho* from the new born was cut and tied with a flax fibre and then the placenta or *whenua* would be taken away and buried in a secret place (Mikaere, 2003:35). If a *whare kōhanga* was used this would be destroyed six weeks after the birth (Wepa & Te Huia, 2006). The connection to *Papatūānuku* and birth is very strong due to the female essence of nurturing and caring.

Hinengaro

The literal meaning of *Hinengaro* is the hidden lady or the female element. It is a term that is commonly understood as referring to the mind (Love, 2004:67). It is important therefore to nurture the mind as it creates the uniqueness of one's own inner being. Māori women were known to possess the ability to create ideas that advanced their own whānau, hapū and iwi. "The treasures of *Papatūānuku* in their many forms but particularly as *whenua* was crucial socially, culturally, spiritually, politically and economically to *tangata whenua* of Aotearoa" (Scott, 2006:54). Madden (1997) highlights that women have a flexibility that enables them to negotiate disputes or dilemma's constructively citing the story of *Papatūānuku* saving the world from being flooded from *Ranginui* and his tears. Women also have the power to make things *tapu* or *noa* the link between the spiritual and the physical being. The mind is very powerful and in this sense is part of the connections with the spiritual world when living on earth.

Whānau, Hapū, Iwi

In traditional Māori times, the whānau was the place where initial teaching and socialisation of things Māori took place. "More than an extended family social unit, the whānau was based on kinship ties, shared a common ancestor, and provided an

environment within which certain responsibilities and obligations were maintained” (Moeke-Pickering, 1996:2). The word whānau means to give birth or a unit that is based on whakapapa (Durie, A., 1997; Metge, 1964; Morehu, 2005). Whānau was a very important part of Māori society. The collective and communal way of living provided everyone with specific roles and responsibilities that they knew they had to fulfil for their survival.

There were roles and responsibilities that came with kinship in regards to brothers looking after sisters, grandparents looking after their mokopuna and everyone looking after the environment. Therefore, kinship embraced other concepts such as utu, mauri and aroha which in turn denoted balance and reciprocity amongst the kin lines of whānau, hapū and iwi. There were certain roles that needed to happen within the structure of hapū and iwi but could not be done by women if the men did not fulfil their responsibility (Buck, 1982; King, 1975; Madden, 1997; Makareti, 1986; Mead, H., 2003; Metge, 1967a; Orbell, 1995; Walker, 1990). For example, women were seen to be the preparers of kai when manuhiri visited however this could not be carried through if the men did not gather the kai. Similarly, if the manuhiri was not welcomed onto the marae by the kaikaranga then the speeches and welcoming messages could not be done by the men.

The whānau as a collective unit set the foundations in place for their young as an investment for the future (Morehu, 2005). This ensured security and stability within the whānau, hapū and iwi. Walker (1990:63) suggests, “the main function of the whānau was the procreation and nurture of children” which formed whakapapa. Māori women had a significant role in communal living and child rearing within whānau, hapū and iwi which provided a safe and stable way of looking after the young.

Māori would share their resources and collectively carry out communal activities (Mead, L., 1996:194). This included the task of preparing food and cooking food. The women would be the main collectors of shellfish and other small foods and the men would hunt for bigger sized game. Kawharu (1977:49) also looked at gender roles and emphasised that men took on more dangerous activities such as bird trapping and hunting whereas women dealt with activities “needing more patience and skill rather than strength and agility.” However, there are some regional differences of when men were not permitted to prepare food and in other parts women were not permitted to hunt. The women’s role within the wider Māori community occurred within a collective and communal lifestyle. The kinship relied a lot on balance and harmony and required regular communication and interaction with other members of the community (Mikaere, 2003).

Whakapapa

Whakapapa loosely translated is about genealogy, descent, lineage, heritage or a pedigree (Ryan, 1995). This type of knowledge was passed down through the generations and ensured that knowledge about whānau, hapū and iwi ties were maintained and their rights secured. Barlow (1991:173) suggests that everything has a whakapapa, including all living things. Whakapapa can be recited in whāikōrero where the speaker is connecting themselves to the manuhiri or the whenua and it is acknowledged that whakapapa is closely linked to identity and the importance of knowing where one comes from. Walker (1990) shares the link between whakapapa and cosmology where Te Pō, Te Kore and Te ao Mārama are the key players in the starting of Māori whakapapa. Women were the carriers of new life, as the whare tangata therefore creating and strengthening whakapapa. Even in child rearing practices women provided the foundation of knowledge about whakapapa via oriori, waiata and motherly guidance. This all assisted with the child's sense of attachment and belonging as well as their identity and cultural characteristics.

Transmission of knowledge

Māori women were known as repositories of knowledge and according to Mikaere (1997:55) this is most evident in the stories of Maui and his kuia, Muri-ranga whenua. The relationship between the kuia and mokopuna is that of an educational role where worldviews are formed and extended. Their responsibility to raise their young and teach them values and skills while in their vulnerable state of youth was again represented through waiata, oriori and pūrākau. Binney & Chaplin (1986:48) acknowledge that older women or kuia were honoured for their wisdom and mana, all of which they gladly passed down to the younger generation. Repetition of waiata provided a foundation for the young to learn even when they seemingly looked like they were not paying attention. The waiata held huge amounts of essential information such as historical events, whakapapa, tribal warfare, births, deaths and love affairs (Mikaere, 1997).

There were also other skills and expertise that women handed down to their young such as weaving, cooking, childcare and military defence. This knowledge was treated as a taonga and women played a pivotal role in ensuring that their young knew what was right and wrong and guaranteed their safety within the community (Mikaere, 1997). Tikanga provided a set of rules, values and ideologies (Gallagher, 2008) and given that Māori, pre

1840 had no written language the use of oral narrative was the means used by adults to recite and demonstrate to the young.

Conclusion

This chapter captured some of the key aspects of Māori women pre European and pre 1840. Many examples were offered to describe what it must have been like for women during this time period. In particular the spiritual and physical connection in regards to te ao Māori wahine and the influence of cosmology was illustrated via the narratives that established the foundations for Māori worldviews, morals and values. The nurturing qualities that Māori women possess which were handed down from atua were also highlighted. Critical to the world at this time was the balance between tāne and wahine, male and female. The significance of childbirth practices, leadership, transmission of knowledge and whakapapa highlighted the importance of Māori women's roles within whānau, hapū and iwi. This chapter provides a guide to the rest of the chapters in identifying evolution occurring in the lives of Māori women given all of the new changes that they face, particularly as two cultures collide.

Epilogue

Durie, M. (2006) talks about the 'tides of transition' transitional periods throughout history that demonstrate changes that have occurred that have affected Māori. The next period of the 1800s-1900s saw British settlers arriving to Aotearoa and with them the introduction of colonisation practices which ensured their power and control was formalized, one being political annexation. The impact this had on whānau, hapū and iwi was immense. The signing of the Treaty of Waitangi and the selling of large masses of land by the New Zealand Company would displace many Māori from their tribal areas (Asher & Naulls, 1987). Legislation and policies were designed to alienate Māori from land, assimilate them into western society and initiate Christianity.

Māori mainly lived rurally while the new settlers' immigrants were primarily expanding and developing cities and towns. Māori attempted to handle this new invasion by establishing movements such as the Kīngitanga Movement (1853) which promoted unity and started a monarchy similar to the British. Pāremata Māori was formed in 1882 to establish their own Parliamentary structure and religions such as the Ringatū Faith and Hauhau (1862) movements evolved as responses to the colonisation of British settlers and the formation of a

western political structure. The Great Depression in 1929 placed additional pressure on the developing urban areas and the Second World War in 1939 forced Māori into the cities in search of employment and sustainably for their whānau. The start of urbanization in the 1930's affected the first generation of this study- the kuia.

Chapter Three: Contemporary Te Ao Māori

Introduction

The key influences that significantly changed Māori society and Māori women in particular are discussed in this chapter. These are presented in three sections which reflect the period when the participants were growing up and developing their worldview; 1930-1960 for the kuia, 1960-1990 for the whāea and 1990–2010 for the kōtiro. Each period has distinct events which have influenced the wahine and their transmission of te ao Māori knowledge – some positively and others negatively.

Kuia: 1930- 1960

Me aro koe ki te hā o Hineahuone,¹¹

Introduction

Kuia who grew up in the period of 1930-1960 experienced the rural to urban shift where traditional Māori practices such as child birthing, whānau structures and the transmission of knowledge started to diminish under western influences. This section will discuss some of the significant events that impacted upon Māori women in this era.

Urbanisation

Over 80% of Māori were still living in their own tribal rural districts prior to the Second World War despite a steady flow into the cities from the 1920s (Meredith, 2000). Metge (1964:49) recorded that in 1936, there were about 10,000 Māori living in urban regions, making up about 13% of the Māori population. However, post war in 1951 there were 27,000 Māori living in urban regions, making up 23% of the Māori population. Nikora, Guerin and Rua (2009) suggest that Māori migrated to the cities for education, recreation and employment although Durie, M. (2006:21) argues that after the Second World War whānau could no longer financially sustain their farms and were forced to source income in the cities.

¹¹ Pay heed to the dignity of women

The younger generation of the time were attracted to making a new life in the big cities. Most Māori women were young and single and found their papakāinga,¹² in the rural areas slow and traditional, while the cities offered opportunities for employment and training (Labrum, 2004; Hill, 2004). New Zealand became a 'welfare state' in the 1940s and with it came the introduction of Māori Welfare Officers, Māori Affairs and specialized Māori trade training opportunities. This move supported the rapid pace of Māori urbanisation (Belich, 2001; Labrum, 2004). Māori families were now living in an environment very different to their own cultural norms and traditional lifestyle. Although there were opportunities to learn from a new culture, this was also the start of traditional cultural practices diminishing. This suggests that Māori women now had to adapt to some new methods which were dissimilar to their cultural beliefs and what they were used to when they were living rurally. One such practice was child birthing and parenting.

Pregnancy and Parenting

During this period, Māori birthing practices started to diminish as a result of European contact (Wepa & Te Huia, 2006:28). Legislation such as the Midwives Registration Act 1904 and the Tohunga Suppression Act 1907 prevented the continuation of traditional birthing practices within Māori society (Wepa & Te Huia, 2006). Western processes were offered in maternity care and Māori women that were living in urban cities were expected to access hospitals as opposed to having their births at home (Palmer, 2002). Mikaere (2003:92) suggests that the majority of Māori women still continued to have home births during the 1930s, with only a 10 percent decline by the 1960s.

The process of giving birth in a hospital surrounded by nurses, doctors and other staff saw Māori women completely isolated from whānau support during this time. The husband or whānau were more than likely not involved in the experience but waited in another room (Mikaere, 2003). The concepts of tapu and noa,¹³ were not observed and the returning of the whenua,¹⁴ to the whānau was not offered. Karakia, waiata and other important rituals were not practiced in the hospital setting (Mikaere, 2003; Pere, 1987). Giving birth for Māori women had completely changed from previous traditional practices (Durie, M., 1998b; Herd, 2006; Nuku, 2001; Palmer, 2002).

¹² A term used to describe the foundations of where one feels connected. A place where Māori connect with their own sustenance and wellbeing.

¹³ There were special and sacred rituals that occurred for Māori women before, during and after the birth (Durie, M., 1998) which followed the restrictions and processes of tapu and noa to ensure that the birth was safe spiritually and physically for both mother and child (Herd, 2006).

¹⁴ Whenua in this context meaning placenta.

Religion and Christianity Influences

One of the major impacts of the eighteenth and nineteenth century for Māori was the introduction of Christianity and religion. The missionary influence throughout the land meant that churches were erected, schools with religious connections were built and recruitment drives enticed new members to join. The patriarchal beliefs of a male dominated terrain created a sexist ideology (Awatere, 1995:35; Heuer, 1972; Irwin, 1988; 1992). The belief systems of missionaries enforced the role of Māori woman to become domestic within the family, serving their husband and children (Mikaere, 2003; Smith, L., 2003; Tomlins-Jahnke, 1997).

Māori women were known as spiritual leaders in their own right prior to colonisation, but Christianity did not support this idea or recognise the importance of their spiritual values. Missionaries also promoted only one god and the idea of Māori women being spiritually in tune was against their beliefs (Mikaere, 2003). According to Lee (2007:43) Christianity and the impact of colonisation generated spiritual disharmony within the Māori society. Awatere (1984:70) suggests religion was used to separate Māori from their land and the influence of God was a ploy to stop Māori from practicing their own spiritual beliefs. While there may have been a heavy influence on Māori women around wairua, it did not stop many from caring for their divine needs of spirituality.

Health

Unfortunately the down side to urban living was the introduction of health issues that were unfamiliar to Māori women (Durie, M., 2001). While Māori view health as holistic, incorporating several strands of what makes a healthy wellbeing (Cram, Johnstone & Smith, L., 2003; Durie, M., 1998b, 2001) factors such as poverty, unemployment and the lack of education contributed to increasingly poor health in Māori women (Labrum, 2004; Keefe-Ormsby, Ormsby, Pomare, 1995). The Māori Women's Health League and Māori Women's Welfare League played vital roles in actively assisting Māori women with health issues by establishing initiatives that would encourage women to utilize mainstream health services.

There were still Māori women living in rural communities who accessed natural remedies and found this to be just as affective and beneficial than accessing western medicines offered in urban settings (Cram, Johnstone, Smith, L., 2003). Jones (2000) affirms that traditional healing and western medicines are systems that are both valid within their own rights. Rongoā and traditional methods involved accessing healing properties from

plants (Durie, M., 1994), connecting themselves to the land and not separating themselves from their mind and physical body (Durie, M., 1994; Jones, 2000). Illnesses were also seen as an imbalance or disharmony within the whānau (Buck, 1970, Durie, M., 1994) that needed to be attended to collectively. Traditional healing was not widely used after the introduction of the Tohunga Suppression Act (1907), although these practices were still used by whānau who remained in the rural areas.

Whānau

The move from rural to urban began in earnest in the 1930s. In turn this saw a decrease in whānau sizes from on average fifteen or sixteen children between the 1940-1950s to seven or eight children between 1950-1960s (Durie, M., 1998a; Horomia, 2008; Walker, 1990). This figure has continued to decrease over the years with families now being 2-3 children per household (McCarthy, 1997). Prior to moving into the cities the pivotal role within the whānau mainly lay with the kuia and koroua. They were responsible for holding valuable knowledge to pass down to the first mokopuna. However this changed when Māori migrated to the cities and the responsibility for handing down knowledge became that of the parents who were also financially supporting the whānau (Durie, A., 1997). The grandparents no longer lived in the family home and in most instances remained in the rural community. Participation in kinship relationships extended to include the wider community who were not necessarily connected by whakapapa and activities outside of the whānau home included church groups, mainstream schooling and sports groups. Whānau units changed significantly in an urban environment as well as the concept of what 'whānau' meant to Māori. There was still some travel back to traditional home areas, particularly when practices like tangihanga had to be observed, but the influence of the city and city life gradually encroached on the lives of Māori whānau and Māori women.

Education

During the nineteenth century the education policies were designed to 'civilize and Christianize Māori girls with a view of eventually teaching them domestic skills (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974; McCarthy, 1997; Selby, 1996). Te reo Māori was not included as a part of the school curriculum and children were punished for using the Māori language (Selby, 1996:19). Corporal punishment had harmful effects on many Māori children and the loss of the language had dramatic affects on the culture as a whole. Pihama (2001), Tomlins-

Jahnke (1997), and Walker (1990), and believe that over time the greater effect was the psychological damage on a person's sense of identity and self worth.

The disestablishment of native schools around the 1930s and the merge into mainstream schooling saw Māori children sharing their education needs with Pākehā students (Selby, 1996). The introduction of the Native Trust Ordinance 1944, provided a backdrop for mainstream schooling to practice and deliver the English language and to further push te reo Māori out of education system (Selby, 1996). The State established same sex schools where girls were taught all together and the influence of Christianity was the foundation for boarding schools, for Māori children, both male and female. McCarthy and Tomlins-Jahnke (1997:97) saw these changes as colonising hegemonies introduced by the oppressive mantles of patriarchal power. Most Māori women that participated in the education system in this period each describe a painful ordeal of the denial of Māori language at school (Pihama & Ka'ai, 1991; Tomlins-Jahnke, 1997:102). Māori children were encouraged to learn and speak the English language at school and at home, parents thought that in order to get ahead their children needed to speak English while living and participating in an English speaking society.

Leadership

Szaszy (1993) suggests that leadership for Māori women changed during this period. Rather than leadership that was previously obtained through whakapapa and within the whānau, hapū and iwi, this new leadership was obtained through education, community work or within the church (although they were given limited decision making roles or recognition). There were however two influential movements at this time that were recognized for their work, Te Rōpu o te Ora-Women's Health League formed 1926 and the Māori Women's Welfare League formed in 1951.

Te Rōpu o te Ora was formed to promote and address the health of Māori women and children. The league focused on educating Pākehā health care providers to become more responsive to Māori concerning hygiene, nutrition and prevention of diseases (Durie, M., 1994:47). Hill (2004:249) highlights this was the start of a pan tribal movement within the Māori Women's Health League which supported the war effort and emphasized the role of Māori women whilst their men were away.

Out of the Māori Women's Health League evolved another reputable group-Māori Women's Welfare League (MWWL) which was led by the first elected president Whina Cooper. Rei (1998:201) discusses that the league's focus was around health and education for children whereas Szaszy (1993: xii) emphasizes the broader concept of the league as helping Māori whānau adapt to the difficulties of western pressures. The league also

supported Māori by being involved in political decision making and playing an intrigue part in supporting legislation pertaining to Māori welfare. Both groups were significant to Māori women's leadership in Aotearoa/New Zealand and contributed to the beginning of pan tribalism and supported Māori whānau through the rural-urban shift.

Transmission of Knowledge

Mikaere (2003:110) suggests "Women's more general role as guardians and transmitters of knowledge was diminished with the erosion of oral traditions brought about by the impact of literacy". Pre colonial times provided a mastery of oral learning where whakapapa, waiata and other important information relied on speaking, singing or action. Te Awekotuku (1991) affirms that literacy provided a different approach towards sharing knowledge that was far removed from Māori oral traditions. In addition, Mc Rae (1997:1) suggests that there were few Māori that published their stories and histories because they believed that the content belonged to whānau, hapū and iwi and therefore in some instances they opted to take the knowledge to their grave or share it with a select few within the whānau. However unlike other generations the women who were born in this era still had access to their kuia who could pass down traditional experiences from the generation before them, if they were within easy reach and if opportunities arose for the knowledge transfer to occur.

Durie, M. (1997:156) suggests growing up Māori demands extra resilience in developing a strong sense of personal and social identity. McCarthy (1997:29) agrees and sees that such cultural knowledge is pertinent to self identity and knowing who you are as a person. Therefore if you are bereft of this knowledge it has strong implications on the future generations. Unfortunately this period was the beginning of a time when knowledge was not freely transferred to the next generation, creating a sense of loss of identity which would simply compound with further generations.

Tikanga

Certain rituals and tikanga are specific to Māori women on the marae (Metge, 1967:215). The urban marae were able to accommodate gatherings, for example, tangihanga, mātauranga Māori and whānau hui although these marae were not necessarily hapū and iwi specific marae, but a mixture of people from different iwi (Sharples, 1972). Māori women still had significant roles that they needed to adhere to as part of the processes

that are delivered on the marae. Sharples (1972) affirms that Māori customs and values have changed and influences from western society have been part of the changes, such as, introducing health policies and procedures that affect the tikanga of the marae, particularly during tangihanga. There has been much controversy since the merging of urbanisation and expectations for Māori women to look at their role within the marae protocols (Metge, 1967).

Māori women during this period still had a strong knowledge of tikanga and their role as women particularly when they were required to return to the marae (hapū, iwi or urban). However urbanisation and the effects of colonisation had an immense influence in changing the nature of a woman's role on the marae where the dynamics around men and women's roles and responsibilities were questioned (Irwin, 1991; Smith, L., 1992) and seen from a sexist position. The issues included why Māori women were prohibited to speak on the marae in the whāikōrero process and why women were seated at the back of the men (Mikaere, 2003; Smith, L., 2003). During this period Māori women were still fluent in performing karanga and waiata in the pōwhiri process providing the portal for men to continue with their practices and now having to justify their position on the marae to Pākehā.

The Link

The 1930s to the 1960s period was marked by the rural-urban shift into cities and towns and attempts to assimilate Māori via law, policies and practices. Māori women were attracted by a move to the city as it was an opportunity to earn an income and embrace the technology of another culture. Despite their enthusiasm to flock to the cities they were faced with a number of issues such as healthcare, the reduction in whānau sizes and the loss of tribal links. The face of education also changed with mainstreaming, where oral traditions were no longer encouraged in favour of a written language, where traditional birthing practices diminished and where te reo Māori was not taught but punished instead if they were caught speaking their native tongue.

Key groups like the Māori Women's Welfare League were formed to support and advocate for Māori whānau. They attempted to not only educate Pākehā on Māori responsiveness but to help Māori whānau who were struggling with adjusting to urban living. The impact of Māori whānau through the rural-urban shift saw an increase in well respected and proactive groups of Māori women to assist Māori whānau in adaptation to western society.

In 1960 onwards, many Māori women were involved in development of Māori movements, social policy changes and a healthy move towards educating Māori children.

There was still the struggle of adjusting to a western culture in regards to parenting, health and religious influences; however there was a predominant group of Māori women who showed attributes towards leadership in this next period.

Whāea: 1960-1990

*He whakahou rongō wahine, he tatau pounamu,*¹⁵

Introduction

This generation celebrates some successful changes in Aotearoa/New Zealand for Māori where there were some political conquests around Māori language and education. It was also the period where the whānau unit became increasingly fragmented, Christianity influenced many Māori whānau and health issues were more predominant for Māori women. This section highlights some significant events that happened nationally for this generation highlighting a move towards revitalisation of Māori practices despite the social and political pressures.

Leadership

This period 1960-1990 saw the development of a number of key Māori movements and along with these movements came Māori women who would become known as leaders in their own right who were prepared to stand up for the rights of Māori. Two examples are the women who were a part of Ngā Tamatoa and Whina Cooper who would lead the Land March in 1975.

In the 1970's Ngā Tamatoa evolved and was influenced by the black struggle in the United States and the feminist struggle of Black American women. A number of their leaders were women like Hana Jackson, Donna Awatere, and Ngahuia Te Awekotuku who advocated for Māori women to become actively involved in Māori society (Harris, 2004). As a group they also campaigned for te reo Māori to become an official language and were politically outspoken about the Treaty of Waitangi and Treaty grievances (Mikaere, 2003). They protested on the grounds of theft of land, suppression of culture and the dishonouring of Treaty obligations (Kelsey, 1993). The focus of regaining self determination by way of voicing and protesting their disapproval became a common political platform for this group and other Māori at the time.

¹⁵ Peace brought about by women is enduring

Another stance was demonstrated in 1975 when Whina Cooper called on all Māori to support her in a land march from Te Hāpua in the Far North to the steps of Parliament in Wellington. Harris (2004:70) comments that the 1975 Land March “wove together many land issues from around the country” and other key occupations at Raglan Golf Course and Bastion Point were also prominent in this period. These historical events captured the attention of all New Zealanders and placed the issues of Māori, Māori land and Māori grievances the forefront. The Māori Women’s Welfare League was still very much active but may have been seen as being more conservative than these newly formed groups. Many Māori whānau were gradually becoming aware of the influence that these Māori movements and groups had provided for them by advocating that the injustices of the past needed to be rectified and sufficient services needed to be provided to help Māori whānau.

Parenting

During this period solo parenting became more evident, either because young Māori women were becoming parents, or because of the increasing number of couples separating. This would create new stresses on the whānau with only one parent or the sole parent having primary responsibility for the child/ren. Households may have found themselves facing financial difficulty and therefore becoming increasingly reliant on the State. The connections back to whakapapa whānau were complex given that many of these families were now living in urban cities, and/or removed from their traditional support systems, like their grandparents, marae and extended whānau. Durie, M. (2001:10) affirms that the trend towards solo parent households increased from 17 per cent in 1981 to a staggering 43 per cent in 1991. The Domestic Purposes Benefit was introduced in 1973 with many young Māori women being guaranteed financial support by the State (Cheyne, O’Brien & Belgrave, 2000). While State funding offered some support for single parents, Moeke-Pickering (1996) argues that the arrangement of single parent families is very dissimilar to the traditional collective group that Māori came from.

Westernised adoption was another issue that was prominent during this period as young Māori children were often placed with strangers who were more than likely not biologically attached to the child and/or Pākehā. Durie, M. (2001:12) states that the only exception to this situation was the introduction of the pilot programme, Mātua Whāngai (Bradley, 1994) in 1984, a government initiative that aimed to hand back the responsibilities of Māori children to tribal groups, including children that were wards of the state. Later in the 1980s, the introduction of Family Group Conferences through the Department of Social

Welfare,¹⁶ saw the whānau making collective decisions on the care and protection of the child in need (Durie, A., 1997). Having said this, there were still many children who were adopted out of their whānau, hapū or iwi into stranger care and they grew up in many instances not knowing who they were and where they were from.

Traditionally Māori believed that children were the responsibility of all whānau members (Walker, 1990) however the whānau unit in this period drastically changed in shape and type. We saw the introduction of labels such as solo parent families, problem families, adoptive families, low income families, reconstituted families and blended families (Durie, A., 1997; Gilling, 1988). This also led to the fundamental values of whānau moving from the traditional influences to influences of living in an urban context and being influenced by a range of outside factors, like health, religion, and education.

Religious Influences versus Spirituality

Western religions became influential to many Māori whānau in this period. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (LDS) believed that families can be bound together eternally and this attracted many whānau to this Church. In addition the church enticed a youthful following with opportunity to travel overseas (Solomon, 2007). Missionaries from the United States also came to New Zealand and encouraged sporting activities and other social events that promoted a sense of togetherness. Anglican, Catholic and Presbyterian religions also had influences over large numbers of Māori whānau where the need for positive family values placed emphasis on the church's teachings. The Rātana Faith started to form in the late 1920s with the influence of T.W. Rātana who convinced many Māori that his faith healing and religious beliefs were more beneficial to Māori than their conviction in Tohunga healing (Hagger, 2003). The Rātana Faith had a vast following and a political alliance was developed with the Labour Party which would lead to the formation of four Māori seats in Parliament (Durie, M., 2006). The Rātana Faith also promoted whānau togetherness to ensure their members were being cared for. Many of these religions promoted the role of women as leaders and carers of their families, by encouraging them to balance charity work with their spiritual role.

Christianity came with all of its western influences, which could be either a positive or negative experience for Māori. What many Christian faiths did not promote was the many aspects of te ao Māori, for example the fact that some Māori could foresee the future, converse with tūpuna and heal the sick. Terms like *Mate Māori*, *Mate kite* or *Mata Māori* were not accepted, understood or believed among western philosophies. Smith, L. (2003:74)

¹⁶ Department of Social Welfare is now known as The Department of Child, Youth and Family

states that the “concepts of spirituality which Christianity attempted to destroy are critical sites of resistance for indigenous peoples”. While Māori women have supported healing from cosmology to contemporary times, their freedom to do so has been interfered or restricted by western medicines and scientific approaches.

Health

Political decisions and urbanisation were a core factors in the decline of the health of Māori and their ability to access appropriate health care. Davis (1987) suggests that access to health services for Māori women was limited due to financial and cultural barriers. During this period negative statistics appeared stating that Māori had the highest figures in many health fields, with Māori women being particularly high in statistics for breast cancer and cervical cancer than non Māori women (Durie, M., 2001:16).

One such prominent issue that Māori women were faced with was the increase in cervical cancer in the 1980s (Durie, M., 1994:135). The best prevention to this disease was the promotion of screening for cervical cancer on a regular basis; however it was difficult to encourage Māori women to participate in the screening programmes due to their own perceptions of western health interventions, lack of education around care provided (Durie, M., 1994) or healthcare providers ill-informed about Māori women’s beliefs around tapu and noa concepts regarding their female parts.

Taiapa (2008) noted that innovative programmes needed to occur which encompassed cultural sensitivity and appropriate environments that Māori women could access, like marae clinics or places where Māori felt comfortable to go. Such programmes were designed and funded to encourage Māori women to have regular screening checks (Ratima, Paul, Skegg, 1993:519) and the Māori Women’s Welfare League established another proactive initiative in 1988 to promote healthy lifestyles (Te Puni Kokiri, 1993). This involved using sports to encourage Māori whānau to participate and reduce their chances of ill health. Community approaches encouraged Māori to take control of their own destiny and the increasing numbers of diseases that Māori whānau were faced with. While health issues may seem to be addressed by community agencies and mainstream services, many of the traditional healing practices have diminished or are practiced in isolation. Durie, M. (2001) believes there is a reasonable following of traditional healing practices in contemporary times and that these are not only based in rural areas but are increasingly been seen in urban settings. However, there is still some criticism about the fact that while traditional healing may address the cultural needs of the person that there is still the need to have these practices scientifically proven as conventional medical treatments (Durie, M., 2001). Many

Māori, both men and women now trained in modern medicine in order to provide both perspectives to Māori whānau.

Education

The work of groups like Ngā Tamatoa were celebrated when te reo Māori becoming an official language in the 1970s. Then in the next decade Māori became proactive by establishing Kōhanga Reo Language nests to teach their children in te reo Māori. This then extended to the development of wānanga, kura kaupapa and whare kura, bilingual schools and the Te Atārangī movement, ensuring that the entire lifespan was covered in terms of the teaching of te reo and teaching from a Māori worldview perspective (Ritchie, 1992; Tomlins-Jahnke, 1997). There is still some criticism that these initiatives do not have enough resources but Māori remain actively involved in the development of educating their own people (Morehu, 2005). Such initiatives have also enabled Māori to explore their own cultural uniqueness and identity within a comfortable setting (Ritchie, 1992). Māori women have been pivotal to the expansion of many of the developments around education, particularly Kōhanga Reo which encourages a whānau centred environment. Kuia, koroua, mātua, tamariki and mokopuna all were totally immersed in the kaupapa. Whānau now had a choice to educate their children in an environment that addressed their own cultural needs with a focus on whanaungatanga. This option could also continue through the child/ren's schooling life. Māori women took an active role in the education of their children and ensuring that te reo Māori continued to be spoken at home. They would also learn many roles including teaching as a career option, up skilling their knowledge of te reo Māori and management skills (Tomlins-Jahnke, 1997:104).

Feminism

Māori Feminism was influenced by the broader international feminist movement except by this period there was a unique Māori flavour which included the whānau as being an important consideration for the individual rights of women. This group was influenced by the black women's movement overseas which gained momentum in Aotearoa/New Zealand after World War II but became more predominant later in the 1970s.

Māori women such as Awatere (1984) and Mikaere (2003) believed that they were fighting for both Māori men and Māori women as a collective and not individuals. On the other hand, Mikaere (1994) highlighted that the wider society assumes that Māori men are

the only leaders within Māori society. This in turn brings a debate around the gender roles and responsibilities at a marae (Irwin, 1991; Mikaere, 2003; Pihama, 2001; Smith, L., 1992). This period of time saw a proactive approach of Māori instigating tino rangatiratanga or self determination. For Māori women this meant bringing women's issues to the fore. Māori women were starting to place emphasis around what was traditionally theirs, for example home births and returning the birth placenta to the land (Mikaere, 2003) and education for their children at Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa (Tomlins-Jahnke, 1997). This period of reclaiming their uniqueness was a very exciting time for Māori women. It may well be that feminist theories provided the impact that Māori women needed to succeed in pushing forward their views and the analysis of these particular theories also ensured that the cultural component was added to their Māori feminist perspective.

Social Policy

At the same time as Māori were standing up for assertion of tino rangatiratanga, the government were reviewing and introducing specific legislation that impacted on Māori whānau. Although the issues concerned all Māori, these also have an impact on young Māori women in particular. In 1986 the recommendations of *Pūao Te Ata Tū* addressed institutional racism evident in the Department of Social Welfare and the care of Māori children (Ministerial Advisory Committee, 1986). The report highlighted the cultural insensitivity of government workers when a Māori approached organizations like the Department of Social Welfare, or the Department of Labour and issues concerning the fact Māori children were being placed with families who were not kin; the care and protection of them and the treatment of Māori young offenders (Ministerial Advisory Committee, 1986).

The response from the government was to train staff to become more Māori responsive and to review and overhaul the Children, Young Persons Act 1974 which then became the Children and Young Persons and their Families Act 1989. Whānau were then offered the opportunity to become more involved in the decision making around their children who had come to the notice of the Department of Social Welfare,¹⁷ and then taken through a Family Group Conference process (Dalley, 1998:159). Moana Jackson (1988) followed on with a report to alert the government of the treatment around offenders with *Māori and Criminal Justice 1988*. As Māori women were considered the primary nurturer of the whānau or were more likely to have sole custodian of their children in a solo parent situation, the impact of the legislation and policy would affect them more when the child/ren were involved in a mainstream system.

¹⁷ Later known as The Department of Child, Youth and Family.

The Link

Highlights of this period certainly pertain to the proactive approach both Māori men and Māori women portrayed. This shifted the mindset of the general public as well as the government to change their responsiveness towards Māori, although not completely. The beginning of a closer relationship started to develop in the political arena. The changes in legislation determined the inclusive processes of whānau when it came to responding to Māori children who had been separated from their biological whānau links. Health awareness gave Māori an initiative to take ownership and promote healthy lifestyles. The negative impact of colonisation still remain, however this period was significant for Māori women who were making positive stands for change in their lives and in the lives of their whānau.

Kōtiro: 1990- 2010

*Awhi, Awhi, Awhi, Aroha, Aroha, Aroha,*¹⁸

Introduction

This generation known as 'generation y' was born in the 1990's and is considered our next generation. Within te reo Māori, youth are called rangatahi, which depicts an analogy of 'a new fishing net or a modern youth' (Ryan, 1995:239). Another word that is commonly used to describe youth is *Taiohi* (Te Tari Taiohi, 2002). For the purposes of this research, much of the content is focused at young Māori teenage women who were born in 1990 onwards. The young Māori women will be called kōtiro which aligns with this intergenerational research; however where information pertaining to Māori youth and not specific to young Māori women is quoted, the term rangatahi will be used. Much of the literature in this period emphasized the whānau unit as an entity which is positive, but it also meant that the voice of rangatahi was not always heard and could easily be lost (Butler & Williamson, 1994; Stewart, 2005). This research attempts to hear the voice of our kōtiro and will ensure that their kōrero is valued.

This generation is our next generation's leaders.

¹⁸ Listen to them, gain their respect, and love them. Let them be proud of being Māori.

Leadership

In 1989, The Department of Youth Affairs was formed to ensure all youth were reaching their fullest potential (Ministry of Youth Affairs, 1989).¹⁹ Biasiny-Tule (2007) suggests that it is a very political generation where the youth have more of a conversational role within politics. The New Zealand government organisations have now attempted to accommodate for the youth voice hence the formation of the Ministry of Youth Affairs, although this particular government department appears to be dependent on the whim of the government in power at the time. At the moment the Ministry of Youth Development is a part of the Ministry of Social Development.

Leadership in this period has taken many forms with Māori youth being drawn to leaders in their school, on the sports field, in social groups or kapa haka groups (Biasiny-Tule, 2007). Leadership can also be seen in some of the international influences such as hip hop or rap artists or sporting athletes who are predominant in their field. Music has been a huge influence among Māori youth, with artists like Anika Moa, Katcha Fire and Fats Freddy Drop being some of the Māori artists in the music industry that Māori youth relate to. Rangatahi also have access to annual events such as *Ngā Manu Kōrero* which promotes the future orators and bi-annual kapa haka competitions known as *The National Secondary Schools Kapa Haka* competitions which showcase kapa haka pertaining to their own schooling areas. This event, according to Papesch (2007) is about retaining iwi identity where Māori dance styles are performed specific to their own iwi or school environments. This also gives Māori kōtiro the opportunity to learn and exert themselves as a 'kaea'.²⁰ Leadership is demonstrated in their dedication to learn and perform kapa haka, deliver speeches in *Manu Kōrero* competitions and learn from people who promote positive Māori development.

Whānau

Moeke-Pickering (1996:9) suggests contemporary whānau and much of what is happening for whānau in the 1990's "has resulted from the social trends of previous decades". Young Māori kōtiro learn from their own whānau who have a responsibility to help shape their moral and value foundations that influence their worldviews. This can be either

¹⁹ Currently Ministry of Youth Affairs have now changed their name to Ministry of Youth Development (1989).

²⁰ Usually a position led by a Māori woman who start and lead waiata. They hold everyone else in tune and in time.

positive or negative and can influence their future ambitions and goals for the rest of their lives (Goldblatt, 2003; Van Heugten & Wilson, 2008). As discussed earlier whānau fragmentation saw grandparents living independently away from the main whānau home and they have not always been easily accessible to this group of young teens. McCarthy (1997:29) states, it is our elderly who are the repositories of cultural knowledge as well as those that should be assisting with the development of their mokopuna, then if this is not there it creates a big gap in the development of a strong cultural identity for these young people. McCarthy (1997) also noted that Māori parents who strive to instil “whānau responsibilities within their children” may also be heavily influenced by the pre-conceived ideas western society may have influenced the values and beliefs that they instil in their young ones.

One example of western influence during this period was the disturbing rate of abuse within Māori whānau who were either subject to or involved in abuse towards their children. Durie, A. (1997:18; National Collective of Independent Women’s Refuges, 1993) highlights that in 1992 Māori women and their children accessed the Women’s Refuge Service and represented almost 50 percent of the clientele. In turn the effects of abuse within the home have links to suicide, behavioural problems including increased aggression and addictions (Van Heugten & Wilson, 2008:53). Abuse towards children was not a part of the pre-European society and is very much the result of the changing nature and influence of Māori society of the decades since this time. Abuse and the other subsequent issues that arise are having a major affect on young Māori kōtiro within this period.

Health

Young Māori males and females are one and half times more likely to die by taking their own lives than non Māori youth (New Zealand Medical Journal, 2003). Some of the contributing factors are around the increase of depression, alcohol and drug abuse, social circumstances and the rapid changes in society as a whole. In 1998, Te Ahu (2009) reported that Māori female youth suicide rate was 41 percent higher than non Māori female youth. The report suggested that the leading cause of suicide may be due to cultural alienation which in turn can exacerbate drug and alcohol abuse. Durie, M. (2001) points out that suicide is a “culturally alien behaviour for Māori” and has only been of greater impact among contemporary Māori.

In the survey ‘*Hauora Rangatahi*’ hospital rates for Māori women between the ages of 15- 24 years old in 1992 showed the highest public hospital discharges were from pregnancy and childbirth which was 47% (Broughton & Rimene, 1997). In 1997 pregnancy rates for Māori women aged between 15-19 years were 94 out of 1000, making Aotearoa/New

Zealand one of the highest teen pregnancy rates in the OECD (Dickson, Paul, Herbison, Silva, 1998). Te Puni Kōkiri and Ministry of Women's Affairs (1999:8) conducted a survey which showed Māori women are more likely to have their first child before the age of 20 years, unlike non- Māori women. Interestingly from the same resource, in 1996, 43 % of Māori women were solo parents. This has now created a large population of young Māori mothers many of whom may not have been brought up with strong cultural values. Mikaere (1994:10) suggests that although it is noticeable that the status of Māori women's health is poor, "legislatively it remains invisible". This suggests that the issues of Māori women's health have not been completely addressed by policies from the government to ensure improvements to the statistics and the wellbeing of young Māori women. In 1993 Te Puni Kōkiri developed a *Whānau Well-being Programme* in order to strengthen whānau structures and address the issue of single parent households. This programme was also to promote zero tolerance for whānau violence and abuse through maximizing whānau potential (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007). This programme is an attempt to address the poor statistics of abuse in the household and strengthening the whānau unit as a whole.

Identity

Biasiny-Tule (2007) suggests that Māori rangatahi have limited support mechanisms to nurture their identity as Māori and other authors believe that their loss of culture and identity is the result of assimilative policies and practices (McCarthy, 1997; McIntosh, 2005; Te Ahu, 2009). Durie, M. (1994) and Walker (1986) believe that identity needs to be maintained through a sense of belonging and knowledge of whakapapa. While Broughton (1993) believes that the context of language, customs and tradition obligations are key to a person's sense of identity. Moeke-Pickering (1996) adds the socio-economic and lifestyle characteristics of Māori are also important.

Consequently Hirini & Collings (2005:13) suggest that there has been a change in the social norms of our rangatahi over the last decade. Risk taking behaviour has increased and social moral and values have become less important to the youth culture. The lack of cultural understanding from Māori youth and the attraction to African American culture has also been evident where gang turf and paraphernalia have taken precedence (Borrell, 2005). The moral and value base from the 1950's where there were more religious influences are not so commonly practiced in the 1990's. On the other hand, Biasiny- Tule (2007) talks about blended futures and histories, where Māori youth today have the privilege of the merging of two genealogies in Aotearoa/New Zealand, both very unique and both very different from each other. Pākehā ecology has changed the face of Māori and has weakened their identity (Moeke-Pickering, 1996).

However, the flip side of the coin is that an enthusiasm and determination has been formed for Māori to uphold their culture and fight for recognition (Booth & Hunn, 1962; Moeke-Pickering, 1996). Secure identity ensures a strong connection to whānau and shared morals and values which provides a “core belief about identity that have shaped what it means to be Māori from time immemorial” (Durie, A. 1997:161).

Knowledge

‘Hauora Rangatahi’ highlighted a lack of cultural identity where rangatahi had insufficient knowledge relating to whānau, hapū and iwi as well as whakapapa, marae knowledge, te reo Māori and contact with kāinga tūturu,²¹ leading to contributing factors in health issues (Broughton & Rimene, 1997:25). Most young Māori kōtiro are the first or second urban born generation where very little involvement in marae based learning occurs. Any influences that have been available may have been through grandparents and other older role models (Tomlins-Jahnke, 2000; Smith, 1992). However the education system has provided a new choice not available in different decades that most schools now have a bilingual unit and have a kapa haka group or a stronger inclusion of Māori content in their curriculum. There is also a healthy group of kōtiro who have gone through Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa that are now entering into Universities or Wānanga. Community services have also provided programmes for youth, some based on concepts of te ao Māori.

The revitalisation of Māori culture has been on the rise especially te reo Māori (Matāmua, 2006) and the launch of Māori TV in 2004 placed te reo Māori in people’s homes and encouraged Māori to learn their language. All of these initiatives contribute to the learning of te ao Māori. Knowledge that is retained using advanced technology, like computer applications such as Bebo, Facebook, Youtube allow young Māori kōtiro access to information that they may not previously have had access to. The kōtiro may not need to rely on their extended whānau as they may not be around and much of this information is now written. Having said this, this way of accessing knowledge in no way replaces the nature of the relationship that is missing between generations.

Whakapapa

Whakapapa and whānau links can now be accessed on the World Wide Web (www). The kōtiro can type in their family name and link their family connections to their own

²¹ Place to belong and connect with for Māori.

extended heritage. Borrell (2005:48) highlights the contemporary view of rangatahi acknowledging areas such as their tūrangawaewae,²² for example, 'southside', 'eastside' connections. Some of Borrell's participants in her study had no tribal links to the South Auckland region but identified a connection to the area. We are seeing a new adaptation of cultural concepts to a more contemporary setting.

Immigration has opened up a range of other cultures residing in Aotearoa/New Zealand and mixed cultures within the whānau unit expanded to overseas, for example, children born from Māori-Chinese, Māori- Italian, and Māori-Fijian parents. Some of the ethnic cultures also come with strong cultural practices, which may be similar or different to Māori culture (Ip, 2003; Kurian, & Munshi, 2006). Whakapapa has now expanded internationally.

Tikanga

Hauora Rangatahi (1997:34) broke down tikanga into concepts such as whanaungatanga, rangatiratanga, awhinatanga and hauora Māori. It describes tikanga as the belief system of Māori and urged rangatahi to get back to the basics, '*clean body, clean mind, and clean wairua*'. Although the learning for rangatahi does not happen regularly on a marae based setting, makeshift environments such as the classroom, the sports field or trips away to other locations can provide a safe place to talk about who they are and where they belong. Literature available shows a strong pull towards health strategies for rangatahi with Māori based concepts within the programmes provided, for example, Te Whare Tapa Whā, the four cornerstones of health,²³ (Durie, M., 1998). The holistic view of health incorporates tikanga Māori, whakapapa, and self identity for youth to explore in a 'kō wai au?'²⁴ process (Hauora Wahine Māori, 1996, Hauora Rangatahi, 1997, Durie, M., 1998, Webster, Warren, Walsh-Tapiata, Kiriona, 2002).

The Link

The ever changing climate of Aotearoa/New Zealand has sped up the ability for one to communicate faster and more efficiently using technology. The growing number of social

²² Tūrangawaewae is commonly known as the 'right to stand' or belonging to a specific area through whakapapa or kinship (Marsden, 2006).

²³ This includes the dimensions of wairua, tinana, whānau and hinengaro (Durie, M., 1998)

²⁴ Who they are and where they belong or come from, their worldviews, their belief system, moral, values and an opportunity to unpack some of the negative trauma they may have experienced in their lives.

services that deal with issues relating to the kōtiro upbringing and problem areas of abuse has also increased. Although there are far more opportunities for young Māori kōtiro to express themselves in a positive way, it is also counteracted by the use of substances and other forms of anti-social vices. There is a range of perspectives available that addresses the view of healthy wellbeing and lifestyles which encompasses a holistic approach of te ao Māori concepts or Māori models of care to assist in healing. The importance of identity for Māori youth and the issues that arise is also critical to this group of rangatahi.

Leadership for many of these kōtiro derives from community driven initiatives, due to the fact that whānau are often disparate and live in many different areas. Knowledge and whakapapa are therefore gathered by other means. This generation still remains our future leaders and yet they have to deal with so many more pressures within their home life, the community and their learning.

Conclusion

Exploring each generation of kuia, whāea and kōtiro provides understanding of the issues that their particular generation were faced with, including some of the successes they celebrated. The ripple effect of colonisation is increasingly evident with each generation, leading to the kōtiro having to face an immense range of issues today. Intergenerational trends are also evident across each generation, for example, the kuia experienced assimilation policies in regards to education and was prohibited from speaking te reo Māori, whereas the whāea generation advocated for Māori education in the form of Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa and the kōtiro now enjoy bilingual units or total immersion units and are more informed of te reo Māori through the media and other mediums. While the impact of western influences have been dramatic in the lives of these three generations, there was also evidence of fighting back throughout the generations, such that today new forms of cultural identity and cultural reformation like the use of kapa haka and te reo Māori are evident.

Urbanisation had a vast impact on whānau across the three generations with family groups moving from rural to urban, with the creation of the solo parent whānau, the nuclear whānau and the fragmented whānau. The rural to urban move sadly decreased the use of traditional practices and increased access to mainstream westernised practices, specifically in health issues, tikanga on urban marae and parenting/birthing processes.

The kuia generation faced the transition from rural to urban and the political and religious influences that forced them to choose or combine their traditional beliefs with western beliefs. The whāea had mostly grown up in urban settings but may have still had access to their rural and tribal roots. They were a part of a protest era fighting for the

recognition of their culture in a range of settings, bicultural and accommodating two cultures. The whānau unit during this period started to be a lot more blended as one culture intermarried with another. The kōtiro generation centred on the issue of identity particularly as they now live in a multicultural society while still attempting to maintain their own identity as Māori or not. Many new influences have impacted on their view of the world which derive from community and international influences rather than from within the whānau. Some of these influences have been positive while others have not. This chapter provided a survey of events relevant to each of the three generations, where some of the significant issues that impacted on Māori women were discussed. The next chapter looks at the methodology used to interview three generations of three whānau in order to consider how te ao Māori has been passed down through their generations.

Chapter Four: Methodology

Methodology describes the method of investigation and presenting selected research” (Taiapa, 2008: 48). This chapter outlines a qualitative approach and the three theoretical frameworks that underpinned the research and the research process used to undertake the interviews including the recruitment of the participants, the interviews, data collection, ethical issues and the analysis of the data.

Qualitative Approach

Qualitative research has been used to ensure that particular approaches could be used in this research. A qualitative approach includes interviews that allow the voices of the participants to be heard. This is different from a quantitative approach which is often about the gathering of data or statistics where you may not even know who the participant is. In this instance the information gathered is at the pace of the participant and controlled through their own sharing of information. The intensity relationship between the researcher and participant is important for Māori and *kanohi kitea* is a concept that has been practiced for many years and is seen as the most basic fundamental to good communication (Bishop, 1996; Smith, L., 1999). Bishop (1992) affirms the importance of ‘showing face’ as this develops credibility and sincerity. Smith, L. (2003:14) agrees that oral traditions and personal contact, shares information and develops trust with others. *Kanohi ki te kanohi* “implies that if correct contact must be made then people should meet face to face, one to one, so that no misunderstandings, misconstruing, misinterpretations, misapprehensions, misconstructions can occur” (Keegan, 2000:1). Gathering stories in this way also allows the data to be analysed by using themes and ensures that rich data is gathered (O’Leary, 2004).

A qualitative approach is also used by women who are committed to feminist oral history and comes from a wide variety of disciplines such as history, anthropology, psychology, sociology, literature, linguistics and folklore (Selby, 1996). This form of gathering data from the participants creates an environment where they can say as much as they would like or as little as they want. Qualitative “seeks to explore and make sense of a person’s life and lived experiences...” (Strauss & Cobin, 1998:43). Therefore the qualitative approach accommodates the researcher and participant in regards to *kanohi ki te kanohi* and the gathering of their own experiences as Māori women. The decision to use a qualitative approach was established at the start of this research, in order to respect the Māori women’s stories and to listen to them while recording their storyline accurately. The transmission of

knowledge was shared orally and the engagement that occurred between the two people, allowed the connection to prosper (Bishop, 1996).

Critical Theory

Critical theory was formed in the enlightenment period by philosophers such as Kant, Udrno and Marx. It promotes “challenge and contributes toward the progressive revolution of the existing status quo within the communities, societies, and cultures” (Gilpin 1981:35). Mead, L. (1996:202) suggests that critical theory through emancipation enables groups such as Māori to take control of their own destinies. It acknowledges the struggles and oppression people endure by promoting and encouraging people to stand up for what they believe in (Fay, 1987:145). This research focuses on providing an avenue for Māori women to talk about their experiences growing up and explore the transmission of te ao Māori knowledge that has been passed down through the generations. Critical theory allows Māori to source and utilize narrative where their stories can be heard and identified (Munford & Walsh Tapiata, 2001; Smith, L., 2003). Kaupapa Māori theory is a localized form of critical theory that focuses on Māori liberation by using Māori philosophies (Bishop, 1994; Irwin, 1994; Nepe, 1991; Smith, L., 2003)

Kaupapa Māori Theory

Kaupapa Māori theory recognises that Māori need to take greater control over their lives and humanity (Smith, L., 2003:186). Within the research terrain this means focusing on culture and how oppression via colonisation has affected Māori people (Walsh-Tapiata, 1997:136). Kaupapa Māori is about a Māori way of thinking, and a Māori way of doing things (Smith, L., 2003:188). The theory and the research allow Māori to utilize their own philosophies and beliefs as a way of uplifting their position as the indigenous peoples in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

The whānau interviewed came from three different time periods, periods which have seen many changes in Māori society. Each generation has experienced a range of diverse issues relating to Māori women living in western society, namely, the rural to urban shift in search of employment or the move away from Māori spirituality to Christianity. Kaupapa Māori theory provides a platform in which to critique these diverse realities from a Māori position, whereby they articulate their own reality and experience, their own personal truth as opposed to homogenization from another culture (Mahuika, 2008:4).

“Kaupapa Māori research carries particular cultural expectations. Those are based within fundamental notions that are expressed through tikanga Māori” (Pihama, 2001:42). As this research focuses on looking at te ao Māori knowledge and Māori women as the transmitters of knowledge, it is only appropriate that the structure to the interviews incorporated room for karakia, whanaungatanga, moving for tapu to noa and by sharing kai (Bishop, 1996). All of these practices ensure that a foundation is created in which Māori researchers and academics can locate themselves to and with the participants. (Pihama, 2001:43).

The overall concept of ‘for Māori by Māori’ was honoured in this research. Pihama (2001) and Smith, L. (1996) affirm that the key to kaupapa Māori research is that it will make a difference for Māori. It is with this that this research adds to the body of knowledge to the betterment of Māori and to the development of Māori women’s voices within a wider context. The challenges of ensuring Māori women have their own unique Māori epistemologies by using kaupapa Māori theory adds to an affirmation of their own positions (Pihama, 2001).

Mana Wahine Theory

Mana wahine theory evolved and was influenced by western feminism and kaupapa Māori. Western feminism focused on the inequalities between women and men (Cheyne, O’Brien and Belgrave, 2000). However activists like Awatere (1989) became critical of western feminism by highlighting that Māori women’s beliefs are focused on a collective approach that includes whānau, hapū and iwi.

Thus we saw the development of a localized approach to Māori women’s view of their world, mana wahine theory. This was based on the fact that “the life force of Māori women is the life force for Māori people; it must be nurtured and fed” (Pihama, 2001:44). Pihama believes that Māori women are powerful, active, inspiring and alive (2001:44). Mana wahine theory within this research ensured the uplifting of Māori women to occur and placed emphasis on their worth and position in Aotearoa/New Zealand. While Irwin (1992) encourages Māori researchers to add to the development of Māori women’s theories, she also sees the need “to develop theoretical frameworks which allow Māori women to position themselves within te ao Māori” and analyses what was happening for them in te ao Māori and what is happening to them now (Bell, 2006; Irwin, 1992; Pihama, 2001:235). This research serves to provide a similar framework.

Another aspect of mana wahine theory is the view of balance where it is not just about Māori women; it encapsulates the concept of Māori women and Māori men providing a foundation for the next generation as tangata Māori and the discourse of Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Mikaere (2003:144) affirms the balance destroyed between gender

relationships is a result of colonisation and promotes restoration of the balance between female and male by having them rediscover and reassert Māori philosophies. While the research is focusing on Māori women as transmitters of te ao Māori knowledge, the knowledge that is passed down through the generations influences Māori men as well.

Indigeneity

The international literature acknowledges the similarities that are shared between Māori and other indigenous cultures, including the impact of historical events on women from other cultures (Pihama, 2005). The oppression from colonizers has also assured marginalization of indigenous women within the society they belong to. The issues of race, class and gender are highlighted throughout the Black women's movements. Their struggles continue on a daily basis to ensure their position is appreciated and indigenous theories and practices are exposed. There are numerous supporting literature that advocates for women's rights on a global scale (Devon, 1998; Gomez, 2005; Guerrero, 1997; James, 2005; Louie, 2005; Moraga & Anzueldua, 1983) and while this research is particularly targeted at Māori women from Aotearoa/New Zealand there is a similarity of the issues between this research and the stories of other indigenous women the world over. This research considers some of the barriers that have potentially stopped the flow of knowledge reaching the next generation. It also celebrates the uniqueness of Māori women as protectors of te ao Māori knowledge. This research provides the vehicle to highlight their stories, within a structured framework and a prepared plan to gather the data.

Research Design

A methodological approach is "the plan for conducting the study" (O'Leary, 2004:85). This includes the techniques such as recruitment of the participants, participant consent, how the data was collected, the tools used to gather the data, transcribing and the framework in which the research was constructed. Also included in the plan are the ethical considerations and issues that occurred during the research.

Selection of the Participants

It was essential that all the participants were of Māori descent and could link to a specific iwi. The identified iwi were Ngā Puhi nui tonu, Ngāti Porou and Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga. These iwi also linked to my own personal tribal links of Ngā Puhi and Ngāti Porou, and out of respect for the iwi where I had been living and working for 10 years, the iwi of Ngāti Raukawa ki te tonga was chosen. I was therefore interviewing my own whānau whānui. The three iwi are also located within a large geographical area from the top of the North Island to the east coast down to the lower North Island. Although the participants did not reside in their respective iwi boundaries at the time of the interviews, all three whānau had extensive knowledge and understanding of their tribal whakapapa and iwi. All participants needed to be women who grew up around the specific time periods although there was one participant that did not fit into the specified era and was born at the later end of the 1980s. The research was able to include her because it was considered that she was still able to relate to the kōtiro generation while giving another perspective from a slightly older stance. The Ministry of Youth Affairs (2002), defined the age range of adolescence as twelve to twenty years but it can be further expanded to include five years to twenty five representing early adulthood (Bosmann-Watene, 2009:19; Ministry of Youth Affairs, 2002:13).

Participant Consent

The selection of whānau to be involved in the research occurred over the Christmas period when whānau were organizing holidays and other activities. While I initially had participants in mind for the interviews; some were not available due to the time of year. The Ngā Puhi whānau wanted to make arrangements before Christmas to meet. The first Ngāti Porou whānau withdrew however I was able to approach another whānau who agreed to meet towards the end of January. The Ngāti Raukawa whānau could not commit to a date and although their input would have been valued as participants, time constraints forced me to seek another whānau who could arrange a time and date suitable for all involved. Participant consent was gained by all whānau with an agreement that the results would be presented to them for their approval before being published. Milroy (2008:3) affirms that “Māori people like to see proof that the good intentions of the researcher are being carried out”. Therefore it was pertinent that the participants were well informed of the processes and comfortable with the content. There were no issues with regards to the use of the

participants' quotes. Upon reflection, the timeframe proved to be difficult and consideration in approaching whānau at that time of year may have placed unnecessary pressure on them to contribute to the research to suit the researcher's deadlines.

Improvement in delivery is always a work in progress and while the participants were informed of the processes, their rights and confidentiality, as a researcher there may have been other information that could have helped explain the research process more clearly. O'Leary (2005:167) comments that conducting an interview takes real skill and remembering several things at one time is difficult however, "if you are able to reflect on your experiences, it is a skill that can develop over time". This was about their own stories and experiences where the processes were about respecting their voices (Pihama, 2003).

Data Collection

Collecting data within two processes needed to be considered, the requirements from Massey University needed to be met as well as the cultural considerations of te ao Māori. Irwin (1994, cited in Mahuika, 2008:2) suggests that the use of Māori research has to "both acknowledge and accommodate Māori ways of being within an approach that remains academically rigorous". The interviews then had to reflect a kaupapa Māori process within the boundaries of the academic requirements.

The interviews were conducted using semi structured questions that covered traditional and contemporary views. The questions were divided into different sections which included te ao Māori, effects of Western influences and transmission of knowledge. Each interview with each participant lasted at least an hour with the exception of the whanaungatanga and the transition back to noa or sharing of kai. However, the importance of time within a Māori worldview meant that the interviews had no time restriction placed on them. *Tahia te taima a te Pakeha ki te taha, waiho tonu ki ta te taima a te Māori.*²⁵

My background as a Māori Social Worker allowed me to practice attentive listening and my ability to engage with people as part of my professional training. Building rapport with the participants was also an important part of the interviews which assured they were comfortable with me, accepting of the questions and at ease with the process. Bell (2006:63) suggests "without the participants' willingness to contribute, the research would have no value". Therefore ensuring the participants were clear and understood my intentions became significant in preparation.

²⁵ "Let Pakeha time be set aside and from now on let us act according to Māori time" (Metge, 1976:69)

Equipment and preparation

Recording the information occurred with the use of an audio recorder which was handed to the transcriber for processing after the completion of the interviews. It was very important to check all the equipment so that the valuable content was not lost. Another issue to be aware of when using an audio recorder, is that it only records the voice and not the non-verbal cues (O'Leary, 2005:169; Metge & Kinloch, 1984) which can sometimes prove to be invaluable. I took this into consideration when writing up the results so that the quotes from the participants were not taken out of context but able to reflect their meaning. The venue for the interviews was placed with the participants who suggested their private homes. As the researcher I came in preparation with an interview pack which included the interview schedule, audio recorder, extra tapes and batteries, consent forms and a koha of food.

Thematic Analysis

O'Leary (2005:196) states "themes can be identified through engagement with the literature, prior experiences of the researcher, and the nature of the research question". In this instance, the themes from the interviews were drawn from the interview schedule and compared with the literature. It was noticed that there were common themes that arose within the interviews which was similar to the literature review. Commonalities among each generation and within each whānau were also evident.

Transcribing

A woman from Ngāti Porou was chosen to transcribe the tapes given her expertise and skills in this area. Dialogue occurred around the expectations, for example leaving the 'ums and aahs' out of the transcripts, to indicate where a pause was in the tape and to identify any sections that she could not fully understand. The other issue considered was when the whānau came together at the end of the interview sessions, the transcriber needed to identify who was talking on the audio recorder (although the final whānau hui did not end up occurring). The transcripts were then arranged into common themes and analyzed alongside the literature. To protect the identities and confidentiality of the participants the transcriber had to complete a confidentially form as part of Massey University requirements and Human ethics committee.

Ethical Considerations

Massey University Human Ethics Committee (MUHEC) requires the researcher to adhere to the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluation involving Human participants. Within the code of conduct, it implies the researcher relate to the Treaty of Waitangi principles. “This ensures the researcher respects individual and collective rights and acknowledges Māori research methodologies and cultural differences” (Bosmann-Watene, 2009:32). Māori research comes from a Māori perspective and a Māori worldview therefore although the research is under the umbrella of a western academic setting, the interviews still needed to capture a process that fulfils the requirements of tikanga Māori. For example, whanaungatanga is a very important process that allows the researcher and participants to connect on a personal level, iwi relationships and as Māori before the interviews even commence. Sharing of kai brings the process to a close; it is informal and returns everyone from tapu to noa,²⁶ although the korero can still continue (Mead, A., 2003, Metge, 1967). “Researchers are unconditionally responsible for the integrity of the research process” (O’Leary, 2004:50). The participants are assured they are respected and the content of their interviews are valued and accurate.

A full ethics application was completed and a low risk notification was applied for (see Appendix) which was approved.

Ethical issues

Initially I thought that there would be no ethical issues attached to this research project; however a few predicaments were identified that needed to be considered in order not to interfere with the interviews and the gathering of the data. Upon reflection these issues were a challenge for me as a Māori researcher. The issues are identified as well as my own thoughts on how these dilemmas could have been dealt with differently and how they were resolved.

The original ethical proposal had indicated that after the individual interviews were completed that the whānau would be brought together for a final hui to reflect on the interview/hui process. Unfortunately this did not occur in the case of all three whānau, as

²⁶ Durie, M. (2001:88) describes tapu and noa as opposites, for example tangata whenua and manuhiri, right and left, first and last, clean and unclean. In relation to this research tapu and noa describes tapu state as entering into the interview and sharing some very sensitive and personal experiences with the researcher. To end that process was broken by the sharing of food and back into a noa state. While the talking continued afterwards the content was not so intense and was in general context.

some whānau members indicated satisfaction with the interviews and were tired towards the end. From my perspective a lot of personal information was shared within the state of tapu (during the individual interviews) which was very exhausting and whānau members were in fact ready to shift into a more common state of noa (Durie, M., 2001). Interestingly, kai served as the noa agent (the moving from formal to informal) whereby members of the whānau reflected together on the interview and the stories shared. This space served as the collective hui space.

Two of the participants from different whānau could not see the whole process through which was beyond their control, one of the kuia had to leave straight after her interview because she needed to attend a tangi and one of the kōtiro left just before the sharing of the kai due to another appointment. Although this did not affect the rest of the whānau and the interviews still occurred, upon reflection the thought was around the busy lifestyles and time restraints Māori women manage, their ability to deal with such hectic schedules need to be commended, unexpected issues arise for them and they are able to prioritize their commitments. I was very appreciative of the time that was given to contribute to the research even though they may have seen the research as having less of a priority in their lives.

Being a Māori researcher, I needed to ensure that I had a cultural process around and within the research. This meant being prepared to start with karakia and mihi and finishing with kai. However, all three whānau took control of their own processes in different ways. Their leadership skills were appreciated and were accepted as I had come into their own environment, I found myself going with what the whānau offered instead of envisaging what my intentions would be. For example, in one whānau, the whaea stood up and started with karakia then passed the time over to me, in another whānau there was no karakia and the mihi process was shorter than anticipated. The third whānau was led by the kuia who welcomed me into their home and then asked what the process will be. While all three whānau offered different ways of starting a process, my thoughts are with entering into their terrain and following their kaupapa at their discretion rather than assuming that I would take the lead.

The method for capturing the korero of the participants was with a small cassette recorder. In the first interview, I found myself immersed in the kōrero of the kuia and did not keep watch on the tape which ended up snapping in half. Although the tape was able to be repaired, given the opportunity again consideration would be to use a different method such as a digital recorder. The feeling that goes with thinking you may have lost the recording of the interview is enough to ensure that all the equipment has been tested and consideration for backing up the data has been thought about.

As discussed the issues did not affect the interview process nor did it place any of the participants at harm. The dilemma sat with my anticipation and forward planning may not

always be the best approach rather taking the lead from the whānau when entering into their domain, the process is a valuable lesson learnt.

Conclusion

Three distinctive theories were identified as underpinning the theoretical framework to this research. This has enabled some of the key elements in terms of contextualisation and the research to be outlined. As a Māori researcher researching Māori women, it was important to consider what theories would be appropriate to this research. Critical theory promotes the ability to identify inequalities within society (Mead, L., 1996; Munford & Walsh Tapiata, 2001:24) which appealed to the research topic. It also draws out issues from the participants where oppression of Māori women in Aotearoa/New Zealand is identified in some of their stories. As the participants are Māori women, it was important to apply a theory that was based on Māori beliefs. Kaupapa Māori is a local theory through which the “emancipatory goal of critical theory in a specific historical, political and social context is practiced” (Smith, L., 2003:185). Kaupapa Māori theory also provided the researcher with concepts and principles when working with whānau (Bishop, 1996; Mahuika, 2008; Mead, L., 1996; Smith, G., 1992). This was important in terms of tikanga that needed to be used and an awareness of the different tribal affiliations and individual whānau differences (Mahuika, 2008:7). Entering into a whānau environment was a real learning for the researcher. I needed to be prepared but also needed to be flexible in allowing the participants opportunities to lead out aspects of the process. There was a significant sharing of power and control throughout the research process, which was indicative in the interactions between researcher and the participant (Bishop (1996).

Mana wahine theory ensured a theoretical framework and analysis that drew on Māori women’s knowledge and in particular the colonizing and decolonizing position and voice of Māori women. This was important given the three generations of Māori women that were being interviewed. Mana wahine theory ensured that the research valued and privileged the worldviews and the stories of all the participants (Pihama, 2002). Through the stories the mana of the women and their tūpuna been maintained as the holders and upholders of knowledge (Pihama, 2002).

While there were a few ethical issues that the researcher had to consider, these did not affect any part of gathering the data, it did however force reflection and ascertain valuable lessons. The next chapter commemorates three whānau who were able to speak honestly and openly about their understanding of te ao Māori, their experiences in their

upbringing in Aotearoa/New Zealand and their ability to share knowledge with the next generation.

Chapter Five: Results

Introduction

“The sharing of stories helps us to know where we have come from and to understand who we are” (Bell, 2006:69). Three generations from three whānau shared their experience and understandings of te ao Māori. This chapter celebrates their stories and privileges their voices.

The participants responses were divided into four main themes with subthemes that illustrate the breadth and depth of the information gathered. The first theme traditional te ao Māori also includes whānau and Māori cosmology. Contemporary te ao Māori is the second theme and it has subthemes of colonisation and the effects of western influences, living in two worlds, blended families, adaptation and te reo Māori. The third theme cultural practices/activities includes karanga, kapa haka, tāmoko and the arts, spiritual/religious beliefs (including Christianity) and healing practices, healing interventions and birthing practices and returning of the whenua. Transmission of knowledge, the last theme emphasizes oral and written recorded whakapapa and continuity for the future as its subthemes. Each section introduces the theme/subtheme and is followed by the participants’ responses. The commonalities and differences between each generation as well as between each whānau are also discussed. The participants will be introduced by their position in their whānau, for example, kuia, whāea or kōtiro, followed by their iwi to identify who they are and where they come from.

The Whānau

Each whānau had three consecutive generations living which included a kuia, whāea and kōtiro. All three kuia were brought up by their grandparents in a rural setting and came from large whānau. All the whāea and kōtiro are the oldest sibling and all the whānau have blended heritages with a Pākehā partner or father. In one whānau, the three generations all live in the one household and actually have five generations of Māori women still living. The other two whānau have two generations living together, and have close links with the third generation. Two of the kōtiro do not have children but share in the care of their younger siblings.

All three whānau currently live in an urban environment and all are actively involved in the Māori community as well as having strong links back to their whānau, hapu and iwi. The ages of the participants varied and generally fitted within the dates that were sought but not entirely.

All whānau had a strong interest in a cultural practice or activity that reflected through the three generations, for example, one whānau commented that they come from a long line of weavers and still actively practiced this within the household, another whānau were members of kapa haka and the third whānau were strong in karanga. Each interview session lasted around an hour and the entire process with each whānau was approximately five to six hours. The responses were selected based on the context of the question asked to the participants.

The following is a reflection of their kōrero,²⁷ which they shared in the time and space provided.

Traditional te ao Māori

When referring to traditional te ao Māori, it is the time when there was no or minimal contact with European influences and the Māori worldview was based around Māori philosophies and Māori ideologies.

This was emphasised by the kōtiro from Ngāti Raukawa when she commented that traditional te ao Māori “*was what Māori did before Pākehā came along*”. This reflects the idea of a pure worldview which was not influenced by western perspectives and infers that Pākehā had an everlasting influence on Māori that cannot be entirely reversed. The kuia (Ngāti Raukawa) stated that te ao Māori knowledge comes from our tūpuna and “*that it is a gift passed down to us*”. This reinforces the treasured nature of traditional Māori philosophies and the way in which they are shared through the generations. The two main aspects of traditional te ao Māori that were discussed by the participants were whānau relationships and Māori cosmology.

Whānau

The wider whānau unit was identified as a key social grouping of te ao Māori in a traditional context. Three of the participants identified that whānau was an important part of te ao Māori.

²⁷ Their stories

The Ngāpuhi whāea emphasised that whānau was different to the western view of family, *“I suppose for me it’s my whānau and when I say whānau, it’s just not that kind of western view of mum, dad and the kids, it’s my whole extended whānau, so te ao Māori is whānau”*. Whānau included more than just the nuclear unit of parents and two children; it covered many generations and levels of relatives that operate as a collective for all purposes.

Furthermore, the whāea from Ngāti Porou discussed the extent of the whānau unit and its foundation, she commented, *“Whānau extends to grandparents, parents, children, mokopuna, right through and that whole manākitanga being brought up under that kaupapa”*. Whānau was defined as a close biological network of generations including grandparents, aunties, uncles, cousins and so forth that had a shared common responsibility to protect the wellbeing of the collective.

The Ngāti Raukawa whāea extended on the idea of this shared responsibility to include learning as well. She defined whānau as a collective group, *“who learn from each other”*. This suggests that whānau provide an environment conducive to learning as well as the knowledge to be shared.

While whānau was discussed by all these participants, each of the three whāea had a different view of what whānau meant to them. The overall agreement was that in traditional te ao Māori, Māori lived as whānau which provided for their social, cultural and educational needs.

Māori Cosmology

Two of the participants linked traditional te ao Māori with Māori cosmology and its value base. They specifically referred to the narratives of Ranginui and Papatūānuku whereas two other participants more broadly referred to *“our tūpuna”* which include all atua and ancestors that have contributed to Māori cosmology.

The whāea from Ngāti Raukawa suggested that the important function of Māori cosmology is to illustrate the societal norms of a people. She stated that they include *“our morals and values and what we have been given from our tūpuna”*. The morals and values illustrated in cosmologies and practiced in contemporary contexts provides the integral link between atua/tūpuna of past and people of today.

The kuia from Ngāti Porou identified specific values of Māori cosmology as important, *‘love... manākitanga, respect, all of those which are, for me, te ao Māori’*. These values in particular guide interpersonal relationships and the way we treat each other.

There was some confusion amongst the participants as to what exactly an understanding of te ao Māori in traditional times was. Although, whānau was highlighted in its depth (suggesting that the participants felt that whānau was a considerable social structure in

size) and the Māori cosmological narratives of Ranginui and Papatūānuku were used to depict an example of the concept of whānau, as they in turn had a large whānau of atua. There were also references to the participants' own tūpuna in the distant past which demonstrated knowledge of their own whakapapa and their link to the period which they recognised as traditional te ao Māori. Manākitanga was a specific concept that was highlighted and came from the whānau, was central to the operation of a whānau, and needed to be maintained and carried through the generations. There was a definite distinction between traditional te ao Māori which had been influenced by colonisation. It could be assumed that the traditional time ended when colonisation started in the late 1700s. However, many Māori communities were not disturbed by settlers until much later and therefore Māori ideologies and practices may have remained reasonably similar until such influence. The participants of this research seemed to refer to the change in practice as opposed to an actual time.

Contemporary te ao Māori

Contemporary te ao Māori is different from that of traditional times due to the impact of colonisation and the many western influences upon Māori. The subthemes that were discussed by the participants were colonisation, the effects of western influences, the impact on te reo Māori, living in two worlds, blended families and adapting to respond to these contemporary influences. The participants' responses reflect their comparisons in relation to "how it used to be done" in traditional times to "how it is done now" in contemporary times.

Colonisation and the effects of Western influences

All of the participants had an understanding of the term colonisation, however the whāea and kuia from all three iwi, had actual stories about colonisation that intimately affected them and their whānau. Their responses also reflected what was happening for them around their time periods. For example, the kuia from Ngāti Raukawa commented about her marae and land issues, "*Māori are fighting for a little space in the corner somewhere to put their marae on*". She continued to say "*It's not fair for Māori who want to have a piece of their culture around them and yet they get overridden by Pākehā*". This kuia highlighted issues with land ownership as a result of colonisation. She also associated the location of the marae on the land and illustrated the important cultural significance of both to Māori. Forced land alienation would have been a dominant issue when she was growing up in the rural to urban shift in the 1930s. She may also have been witness to the development

of cities and towns around the vicinity of her marae and felt overpowered and overwhelmed. She could also now be involved in re-claiming land in the Treaty claims process.

All three kōtiro took a holistic approach and provided a definition for the term colonisation. The Ngāti Porou kōtiro described colonisation as *“when one race forces it onto another”*. The kōtiro from Ngāti Raukawa extended this definition to *“another culture coming in and taking over the culture that was already there and changing all the structures they had in place”*. The kōtiro from Ngāpuhi had similar views but applied it specifically to the New Zealand context asserting that colonisation was *“a British colony coming here, setting up and imposing their sort of lifestyle on Māori who are already here...”* There was general agreement that colonisation in New Zealand involved the arrival of British settlers to establish a colony and in so doing forcibly and systematically undermining Māori and assimilating their culture and practices into the Pākehā way of life.

It was also asserted that colonisation is not a historical process but one that is occurring continually and cannot be reversed. The Ngāpuhi kōtiro also said *“people like to think of it as something that is part of history, but I think it is something that is still happening”*. The kōtiro from Raukawa felt that if she wanted to live like her tūpuna she could not *“because everything is westernised”*. There was some frustration at this continually occurring irreversible process which the three kōtiro expressed. They had very strong views about one culture imposing their practices and structures on another and the consequential impact that these influences have. This was particularly the case in terms of changing the structures that were already in place.

As an expansion to their views on colonisation, the participants highlighted some of the effects that the western culture had had on their whānau. This included: living in two worlds where they are Māori participating in what they described as a Pākehā world and living in a blended whānau where immediate whānau members also came from another culture. There were also discussions about the loss of te reo Māori as a result of western influences.

Living in two worlds

Three of the participants talked about living in both worlds; te ao Māori and New Zealand society. Although, they each had different viewpoints about what this might entail. While the whāea from Ngāti Raukawa saw living in two worlds as a national issue, the kuia and whāea from Ngāti Porou gave examples of how it has affected their own lives.

The whāea from Ngāti Raukawa identified biculturalism as the national agenda for addressing the co-habitation of two cultures, *“this country is supposed to be bicultural where we share each other’s culture”*. However, she blames multiculturalism and the governments immigration policies for this not fully being realised, *“Pākehā are too busy catering for other*

cultures that have come into New Zealand and they forget about the indigenous cultures that were here first". This indicates that despite the desire to live in two worlds with respectful mutual relationships between Māori and Pākehā, the ability to do so can be helped or hindered by national government policies. This can cause frustration about the assistance given to immigrants from other cultures that reside in New Zealand as opposed to those that are the original inhabitants and welcomed Pākehā to settle here in the first instance.

The Ngāti Porou kuia related living in two worlds back to her own upbringing and commented,

I was brought up by my grandmother, who nurtured me, who loved me, who fed me, who clothed me, in a Pākehā world, however, not forgetting our Māori values, our Māori tikanga, so she taught me what I know today...

While the kuia was brought up around western influences and accessing western resources, ultimately her moral and value base is still strongly derived from te ao Māori.

The whāea from Ngāti Porou found that living within both worlds led to her having to make compromises, *"because culture in our whānau is quite strong, but then we have got to move also to the western world because we are surrounded with that in our environment"*. Living in two worlds, the participants indicated that they still remain strong in their culture as Māori which is their value base but they also have to live in a society that has a different belief system. The participants were able to navigate both environments and utilise the most important aspects of each and resolve the compromises. This was highlighted as an issue within their whānau but also as Māori people living in a bicultural society.

Blended Families

A blended family refers to the blending of two or more cultures in one family. All the whānau that were interviewed had either married into another culture or had parents who are from another culture. Two of the kōtiro acknowledged the blended cultures and had no issues with this affecting their whānau. For example, the kōtiro of Ngāti Porou commented *"Well, I have a Pākehā dad, so yeah, I don't mind it but yeah no affect really"*. The younger generation found this more acceptable within their whānau, being part of the second urban born generation and comfortable living in a bicultural society.

All the whāea found that they had to compromise within the whānau in regards to two different philosophies and ideologies. The whāea from Ngāti Porou disclosed that within her immediate whānau,

there is a lot of compromising going on, so that there's no conflict because we are in a world where we have staunch Māori, we have staunch European or Pākehā

amongst us. It happens in our house anyway, where if this was the way I was brought up then this is my way of thinking”.

In this whānau, the whāea identified that there were two proud cultures within one household and how different worldviews can conflict. Compromising was one strategy they used to respect and maintain each other’s culture. Similarly, the Ngāpuhi whāea also stated that when there is more than one culture there is also more than one worldview with different value systems and that there is a conscious need to work at the relationship between the two cultures,

with our whānau being Māori come European/Irish background, we have got two strong cultures, not conflicting all the time, but conflicting with some different value systems and belief systems. As part of that we battle on the forefront within the home and also as women working out in the community.

While there were noticeable differences within the whānau that had to be negotiated, the two whāea also emphasised the differences in cultures nationally in Aotearoa/New Zealand and their role as mediators.

Adaptation

Part of being able to compromise is also the ability to adapt to new circumstances. Three of the participants discussed adaptation and how aspects of te ao Māori society have changed over time. This included protocols, the domains in which they are practiced and the influence of colonisation.

The Ngāti Raukawa kuia found some protocols were being adhered to so strictly that the link to those who created these cultural and spiritual practices are undermined. She specifically referred to the karanga being so “*PC nowadays where everyone is trying too hard to follow protocols... that they forget that it is our tūpuna that guide us through the process*”. The spiritual connection between the guiding ancestors of te ao Māori has changed to a more rigid process of following protocols in contemporary times. The kuia emphasised that the wairua or spiritual connection from the spiritual world is overridden from following a process of protocols derived from the modern days.

The whāea from Ngāpuhi identified that the domain of the marae was also evolving due to people’s needs. She suggests that, “*things that we might have done on the marae, we may not do that now. As times have moved, we have adapted some tikanga to allow for the modern world...*” Tikanga has adapted to accommodate some western influences and pressures from modern times have dictated what has been practiced on the marae. One

example, maybe time constraints or following a western concept of time, rather going with the processes of the marae, such as finish when the time is right.

Another perspective from the Ngāti Raukawa whāea recognised the influence of Pākehā and how Māori have had to adapt to western society but she questions the reciprocity of Pākehā and wonders if they have given back to Māori society. She comments “*Māori really lost out when it came to another culture moving in to Aotearoa and although we embraced all the new stuff and wanted to learn off the Pākehā, they took a lot and never really gave back*”. This demonstrates the frustration of this whāea, where she indicates that injustices have occurred and believes it has been a one sided relationship between Māori and Pākehā.

The kuia from Ngāti Raukawa and the Ngāpuhi whāea identified adaptation was about adjusting to contemporary tikanga Māori and how practices have evolved within the marae domain. Whereas, the whāea from Ngāti Raukawa found that adaptation was more about the merging of two cultures. Either way, it has demonstrated that adaptation to a western society has had an impact on Māori ideologies and philosophies in contemporary times.

Loss of te reo Māori

Two of the whāea asserted that te reo Māori is a “birthright” and they should be able to speak te reo Māori as their first language. The Ngāti Raukawa whāea also emphasised that te reo Māori “*should be our birthright so that we are brought up speaking te reo not just learning it when we are older*. She emphasised that the effects of westernisation had “*a major impact on the detriment of our reo and the loss of our language*”. The whāea from Ngāti Raukawa was aware that only a few generations before her, Māori were native speakers of te reo Māori and that colonisation had reduced it to near extinction and it was now having to be formally taught. She commented “*our tūpuna were native speakers but now we have to learn it out of a book or off T.V*”. While there are initiatives that encourage Māori and Pākehā to learn te reo Māori, such as total immersion courses, programmes offered on television, the participants asserted the fact that Māori should be able to learn te reo Māori as their first language (as a birthright) and English as their second language. They revealed a sense of frustration and shame that they had not been privilege to such knowledge and that it was not something that they could pass down to their children/mokopuna. While there is an increase of awareness around te reo Māori, the damage from the impact of colonisation has been done and the reo has to now be re-taught again.

Cultural practices and activities

Although there were definite effects of western influences on te ao Māori knowledge, there are also some practices and activities that have remained reasonably the same. Within each whānau, it was evident that there were specific cultural practices and activities all three whānau enjoyed and participated in at home and in the community. These were karanga, kapa haka, tā moko and spiritual beliefs and rongoā. Although these practices may have evolved from their initial form in traditional te ao Māori, they have endured the changes of colonisation and still serve a similar purpose that is relevant to those involved.

Karanga

All of the wahine had similar views about karanga and felt that there was a tikanga process clearly in place within their whānau. Karanga was the role of the kuia until such time as she either passed away or she handed the role down to the whāea or in some cases the next oldest female sibling. The role then continued down to the next generation. They all knew this was the case and respected the process.

The Ngāti Raukawa kuia is the main person that does the karanga in her whānau and she commented that,

the karanga is a beautiful thing because it is like being in two worlds, the spiritual world and the living. It's also about the tautoko of our men and being there to support them and their kōrero. It's also really good to make a good impression for our manuhiri that come onto the marae or representing our rōpu when we go to another part of the country.

While the role of kaikaranga is the essential first process in a pōwhiri, the kuia emphasises the blending of two realms of spiritual and physical and the ability to navigate them both. The Ngāti Raukawa whāea acknowledged that her mother takes care of the karanga and knows that the role will go to her when her mother passes on. *"I will not step up until it is my time and mum has always said that you will know when you are ready"* The youngest generation of Ngāti Raukawa also knows that the role of kaikaranga within her whānau belongs to her Nan, but is aware that this will eventually be passed down to her. She also commented that *"I have been right there and I have felt that connection and that feeling you get from it but I have never tried it"*, confirming the spiritual connection performing a karanga.

The three generations of Ngāti Raukawa understand the role and responsibilities of kaikaranga in their whānau. They recognised that at the appropriate time the associated transference of knowledge and eventual passing on of this important responsibility to the next generation will occur. Each generation indicated that the role will continue to be held with their kuia until such time that it will be handed on to the whāea and so forth. This is a very clear example of the transmission of te ao Māori knowledge and how it has been passed on through the generations.

Kapa Haka, Tāmoko and the Arts

All three generations of the Ngāti Porou whānau had a passion for performing arts and it has been huge part of their lives.

The kuia of Ngāti Porou is very involved in kapa haka as she informed,

I am an international and a national kapa haka performer... That was instilled in me from way back, so now if there is any kapa haka group that performs, I'm right there in the front row ... whether I know the waiata or not, I can follow along.

It was a traditional practice that had been instilled in her at a young age and was her way of expressing her Māori identity. She also commented that this passion for performing arts is also evident in her daughter. The Ngāti Porou whāea confirmed that kapa haka was a key cultural practice that was passed down within the whānau, “*kapa haka would probably be one of the jobs that we would engage ourselves with to share that [te ao Māori knowledge] within our whānau, we are quite strong in that sense*”. The knowledge associated with this cultural practice was also shared within the whānau. The third generation of the kōtiro from Ngāti Porou also participates in kapa haka however she commented that “*we do a lot of music and we like to sing a lot*”. She generalised this practice and did not identify kapa haka specifically. This may be a reflection of her generation that are attracted to all types of music and performing and often adapt what they like to a Māori context for example using the same tune or translating the words into te reo. Like the Ngāti Raukawa whānau, all three generations of Ngāti Porou have a particular practice that is steadily being shared through the generations.

Tāmoko, while an ancient art in te ao Māori, has over the recent years started to become more popular in contemporary times more in particular with the younger generation. Rather than the commonly known art of tattoo, tāmoko represents a sense of identity and whakapapa. The kōtiro from Ngāpuhi clearly associated tāmoko with a strong cultural identity. While she was at high school she became more “*involved and embracing*” of her

“Māori identity”. “So for me getting a Tāmoko was just reinforcing that. But not only for myself [but] to others, it was almost like I am Māori and I am proud of it”.

The support from her mother (Ngāpuhi whāea) led to a wānanga process prior to the application of tāmoko so that the kōtiro was able to explore the reasoning behind their interest in getting a tāmoko. The Ngāpuhi whāea commented,

It wasn't just because it was a trend or because [the artist] said; if it was just me he just would have done it. He told me what it was all about, but because of my daughters journey and because it was really good for her. He made her go away and do all the researching and then come back and together they created her back [tāmoko].

It was more purposeful for both the kōtiro and whāea to go through the process of associating meaning to their moko first with their whānaunga [the artist] so that a knowledge base was developed for the wider whānau.

Each whānau maintained a cultural activity that was based around their uniqueness as Māori and included te ao Māori knowledge that was being passed down and was evident that it was coming through each generation. Some whānau had more than one activity they shared, for example, the Ngāpuhi whānau also enjoyed weaving within their household. While the cultural practices themselves were very important in each whānau, it was also the practices of sharing with and teaching to each generation through the te ao Māori concepts of manākitanga and awhitanga that were significant.

Spiritual beliefs

Christianity/ Religious beliefs

All participants had some affiliation with a spiritual connection, whether with Christianity or atua Māori. Some showed a union between both where they connected with a western religion but also had core Māori beliefs or respected the process of having karakia.

The Ngāpuhi whāea found that her affiliations were with the Katoriki/Catholic and Rātana faith. *“We kind of were brought up in the two worlds, like we've had kind of strong Katoriki/Catholic values instilled in us on our father's side and then on mum's side, because she was Rātana...”* It is not uncommon that Māori have more than one religious connection which has been influenced through both sides of the parents and this only emphasises the spiritual nature of Māori.

The kuia from Ngāti Raukawa felt that her spiritual beliefs were blended with her Catholic faith and her faith in atua Māori. She commented that *“there is nothing like having a service at the marae or around the whānau to appreciate the wairua of things”*. This demonstrates the blending of western religion and the Māori spiritual domain of the marae.

The Ngāti Raukawa whāea acknowledged the whānau beliefs are with the Catholic religion; however she felt that her own personal beliefs were more around spirituality. *“I feel like there is a higher being who watches over us but it is not necessarily a god or the way Pākehā view it”*. Māori are not necessarily loyal to only one form of religion or one god, nevertheless spirituality forms a large part of cultural practices and te ao Māori knowledge. The kuia’s daughter (whāea) questioned her own faith although she was still able to relate to a spiritual being. Furthermore, the kōtiro of Ngāti Raukawa had doubt about what she believed in but did support the process of karakia when in situations that this needed to occur. *“I do karakia when everyone else does karakia like if we are at the marae and we have to bless the food then I will respect that process”*. This illustrates that perhaps western religions such as Christianity that were very prevalent in early colonisation and were in fact part of the colonisation process, may be becoming less significant with the generations. Each of the three generations had a slightly different view of the importance of western religion but still maintained their Māori spirituality. Western religion seems to be an acceptable add-on to Māori spirituality but can also be left out.

Similarly the kuia from Ngāti Porou acknowledged her spirituality but questioned whether her faith belonged in te ao Māori or te ao Pākehā. *“I am a very spiritual person, I don't condone any sort of religion or their faiths because to me there is just one atua, but I'm not sure of atua Māori or atua Karaitiana,²⁸ yet, although I've been practicing prayers to atua Karaitiana”*. The actual denomination did not seem to be as important as the practice of praying. The whāea from Ngāti Porou emphasized that regardless of what denomination you choose, spirituality is foremost practiced at a personal level and the connection is within yourself. She stated, *“Religion to me is all about whom you are, you're the temple, it doesn't matter which religion, it's just a name, but at the end of the day, if you respect yourself, you respect God or Atua”*. This demonstrates the connection between oneself and the spirituality, which enforces the belief of spiritual and physical correlation.

Māori are very spiritual people which are illustrated through te ao Māori; and in contemporary times it is not unusual for Māori to be comfortable on the marae or around their whānau where religious services occur as part of the processes. The ambiguity lay with what denomination the participants would support. The three generations of Ngāti Raukawa demonstrated an intergenerational change, where the kuia was actively involved in the Catholic religion, the whāea questioned her beliefs and the kōtiro was very vague about what faith she believed but did respect processes, such as karakia. The kuia and whāea of Ngāti Porou acknowledged their spiritual beliefs but again questioned whether their connection was with te ao Māori or te ao Pākehā.

²⁸ Karaitiana is Māori transliteration of Christianity

Healing Interventions

Healing interventions referred to whether the participants used western medicine or traditional methods of healing. Most of the participants were familiar with rongoā and accessing natural remedies. However, there were intergenerational differences. Some of the younger participants would rather access western medicine, whereas the kuia from all three iwi were brought up with rongoā when they were young and still practice it today.

The Ngāti Raukawa kuia gave an example of the rongoā that she still uses, *“I gather kawakawa leaves if I have a mamae,²⁹ on my legs, it draws out the bruising”*. However, the granddaughter of Ngāti Raukawa was aware that her grandmother used rongoā but said that she would *“probably go to the Doctor...because it’s faster and quicker to get a pill or bandage rather than boiling up some concoction with leaves and twigs and stuff”*. The younger generation obviously value western medicine more and view it as being more effective. On the other hand, they also view rongoā as alternative healing that is of lesser value as it is natural as opposed to chemical. This demonstrates and the effects of colonisation on the younger generation who would rather access western medicine than place faith in their own traditional healing methods. It also highlights an attitude about the importance of time as the younger generation assumed the process of making rongoā would take longer than accessing the public healthcare system and would be less efficient.

The whāea of Ngāpuhi grew up with rongoā and therefore felt that this was a natural part of her life, *“I think we have always been quite open about rongoā, because when I was a kid my grandfather was right into rongoā and traditional Māori healing practices...”* This reveals the intergenerational transmission of a traditional knowledge and practice that has been passed down from tūpuna to the next generation.

The kuia from Ngāti Porou referred back to her childhood and her nanny’s need to use rongoā for healing because of the remoteness of living in a rural environment and inability to travel to the doctors regularly or easily. The kuia discussed how,

...she [nanny] believed in kawakawa, you know if we got sick she'd give us some, kowhai bark, flax, we had to drink it to clean us out, yuck, but you know there were medicines in the shop, and she'd go oh no don't waste the money, she'd go and boil the flax and you'd have to drink it - yuck - but it did work.

The kuia related to her experiences with rongoā as sometimes unpleasant however she is still able to remember the knowledge given to her by her nanny, evident with her own daughter. As her daughter confirmed, *“getting back to nature, was probably what we were taught to do”*. Rongoā was a means of utilising the resources of the environment and also

²⁹ Mamae - sore

save money. The youngest generation of Ngāti Porou, the kōtiro had limited knowledge of rongoā however she was able to give a few examples, such as knowing that “*spider webs are what you use for cuts*”. It seemed that rongoā was similar to karanga in that the younger generations had some knowledge but less practice because their whāea and kuia were still providing this for them. Perhaps once the younger generations become the matriarchs of their whānau they in turn will be responsible for ensuring such practices.

The kuia all lived rurally so access to the rongoā was easier for them than travelling and paying for public health services. Urbanisation had affected this ability to utilise local resources. The whāea all had knowledge of rongoā, however, the kōtiro who lived in an urban setting found it easier and more convenient to use conventional methods.

Birthing Practices/Returning of the whenua

The participants were asked about their experiences around child birth, which generated a discussion about the traditional practice of returning the whenua to Papatūānuku or burying the placenta in the ground. All of the kuia had bad experiences in hospitals that failed to meet their needs, by not including their whānau in the birth process due to hospital policy and staff practice or they felt overwhelmed at having to go to a mainstream hospital. These practices and policies had changed by the time their daughters had children and the kuia were able to participate in these births. The kōrero with the kuia was at times emotional, sometimes because of negative experiences but also when they were able to participate as whānau support in the birthing of their mokopuna. Two of the kōtiro have not had children; however have been part of birthing processes with their younger siblings.

The kuia from Ngāpuhi commented that she had a “*horrendous, horrible experience*” while accessing the mainstream hospital service to give birth to her children. The kuia from Ngāti Porou also had a similar experience stating, “*I had my children in a hospital, so they took everything and discarded it*”. Not having control over the process and not being able to hold on to the whenua of their newborn had a profound effect on this group of women and made them feel that the hospital did not meet their needs as Māori women.

The Ngāpuhi whāea spoke of her naivety when she gave birth to her first child, however when she had her second she was much more assertive, “*when I had my boy I was just that more confident. I said no I want to stand up and that is the most natural way to have a baby, is by standing and squatting, as opposed to lying on a bed*”.

After not feeling satisfied with following hospital protocol the first time, the whāea took more of a proactive stance in her second birth, and advised the hospital on how she was going to birth her child. She was able to control the processes. The Ngāti Porou whāea was

able to include cultural processes during the birthing experience and had whānau support in the delivery room with her. She affirmed that,

As baby was coming, he [priest] was chanting away a karakia for her and then I was oblivious to what was going on but baby was coming and it was just nice. Songs were being sung, we had the guitar going, you know it was just a nice atmosphere, everyone was supporting me.

The ability to include cultural practices created a safe environment for both mother and baby addressing the social, cultural, spiritual and mental wellbeing of both as well as involving the whānau collective in the process.

The kōtiro from Ngāpuhi, the youngest participant who experienced child birth was offered cultural choices but did not feel it was an issue. She stated,

I didn't really see the importance of incorporating Māori values into both my pregnancy and child birth. I had been given the option of whether I wanted to have a Māori midwife but I sort of thought, ah, what does it matter what my midwife is...

This demonstrates a change within the health system where they are starting to accommodate for Māori mothers in offering them choices to do with their cultural needs. However, it also shows that perhaps because of urbanisation and cultural revitalisation, the youngest generation do not feel such need to align themselves with cultural practices, they are quite happy with the status quo.

The three generations stipulated very different experiences of giving birth. The kuia found the processes of a hospital were not considerate of culture or whānau or the expected mothers; however the whāea were able to be more proactive in the birthing process and could include culture and the whānau. The next generation have the option of Māori input and assistance but do not always choose it. Nevertheless, the changes in birthing processes through the generations have seemed to improve the experiences of Māori women giving birth and locate the control of the processes with them.

Returning the placenta (whenua) is an intrigal part of birthing practices for Māori so that the baby is connected to where they belong or where their tribal links are. The Ngāpuhi whāea was asked by the midwife whether she wanted to keep her placenta but she did not understand the significance at the time. However, with her second child she “*got his placenta and we took that up home on our whānau farm*”. The whānau land is significant as it is the point of belonging for her children. There was obviously an awareness of cultural practices by midwives by the time the whāea gave birth and Māori women were given such options. Her daughter, the kōtiro took the lead from her nana and her mother and let them guide the cultural practice associated with returning the whenua,

at the time it was kind of the last thing on my mind. I had this new baby and you're supposed to worry about a placenta and all the rest of it. You know, luckily mum and nana they held on to it and I didn't really want to, I guess deal with it..."

In this instance the wider collective of Māori women within the whānau were able to ensure the continuation of cultural practices while the new mum recovered from birth. The kōtiro did later become involved in actually returning the whenua. About a year later, "I wanted to take it back up north and so we, (my partner and I) made a trip up there... so we went back to where my nana's from and back to where she grew up and buried baby's placenta up there. The kōtiro relied on her mother and nana to protect the placenta until she felt the time was right to travel to the whānau land to complete the process. Similarly, the whāea of Ngāti Raukawa also relied on her aunties and mother as those designated within the whānau to take care of the process. She affirmed that,

...as far as the placenta is concerned I left that up to mum ... They are buried on the farm. I did know about it all but ...my aunties and mum knew exactly what to do, my girl knows where it is and where she comes from or can return to.

The whāea knew the process but similar to karanga and rongoā left the actual practice to other wahine in her whānau who were designated to undertake this role. The knowledge associated with this process was still passed on to her daughter about where her placenta was and her connection to it. The kuia of Ngāti Porou took a proactive stance with all her children to ensure that all the placentas of her mokopuna have been returned to the whenua. She stated that,

...her [daughters] three children's placentas are at the feet of my parents up in our cemetery... I've talked to my children about returning their whenua back, so we've gone through that kōrero, we've gone through the process of why and how come etc".

The placenta links the child back to Papatūānuku and forms a connection to their whenua. All three generations practiced this process within their whānau; however the younger generation were guided by the older generation, even though they knew about it prior to giving birth. It demonstrates the roles and responsibilities of Māori women within a whānau and relationships between women.

Transmission of knowledge

There were two forms of recording knowledge within the whānau, orally and written. This knowledge was also transferred from generation to generation using formal and informal

mediums. This section focuses on knowledge pertaining to whakapapa and explores the nature of the transmission; protocols and processes around access and sharing. The final subtheme discusses the continuity for the future and how maintaining knowledge has been an important and significant process demonstrated in each generation.

Oral transmission

The Ngāti Raukawa whāea affirmed that she had gained a lot of information orally from different members of her whānau in different hui. *“We get to hear all the stories and the names and then get familiar with them all and you know when we go to tangi and meet all the relation’s it’s like it all makes sense...”*. This demonstrates that knowledge sharing can be an informal process part of whanaungatanga where connections and whakapapa links are made with other whānau members.

The whāea from Ngāti Porou identified her mother as the person who holds the information about their whakapapa and then shares it with her whānau. Traditionally, men held whakapapa information within the whānau and were responsible for passing it down. However, within the Ngāti Porou whānau valuable information pertaining to their whakapapa is held with the kuia and it is her responsibility to ensure that it is passed on. The whāea commented that,

Yeah, with mum though she likes to share information to everybody, so that’s the beauty of information, knowledge getting passed down, she’ll tell everybody, so it won’t just be me, it will be my younger sisters as well, which is really cool because it’s nice to know when you go back to whānau hui that – oh yes I heard all about you, and then you know that conversation can happen with that person.

The process that the Ngāti Porou whāea described is an informal way of sharing information about whakapapa whereas traditionally this practice was formally carried out as a tapu activity. It is also shared with everyone whereas traditionally it may have only been restricted to a few privileged with the responsibility.

The kōtiro of Ngāti Raukawa found that sharing stories was important to her whānau and an opportunity to learn about whakapapa connections. She commented that *“when there is a whānau hui on and we are all gathered together, then all the stories come out”*. This shows another method of handing down valuable information in the form of storytelling.

Another method was discussed by the kuia of Ngāti Porou, who found that visiting the urupā every time they returned home to Ngāti Porou helped to provide the opportunity to share information about whānau connections:

We always go to our cemetery and that's just one way of passing on our whakapapa because they always like to know who's that and how come this one is related to us... and so that's one way of teaching my kids the whakapapa.

There are many ways in contemporary times to share information. While this may not have happened so casually in traditional times, it demonstrates that whakapapa in particular is still passed down orally through the generations and the identifying of whānau connections still occur in a whanaungatanga process.

Written/Recorded Knowledge

All of the participants confirmed that they had access to some form of written and researched documentation about their whakapapa. It may not have been directly gathered by them but they knew about the information and knew where to access it.

The Ngāpuhi whāea stated that her cousin had recorded whakapapa from their grandparent's line. She affirms that, *"we are actually really lucky we have it in booklet form now due to one of my cousins... my kids are lucky to have that. They don't have to try and hold it in their head"*. Written accounts are seen as a more convenient way of maintaining information as opposed to the skills required for oral transmission. However, it is still a default mechanism and should only be used to support the oral practice.

The Ngāpuhi kōtiro acknowledged that she knows the information pertaining to her whakapapa is available to her and while she values it, she is not interested in learning it at the moment but rather thinks that it would be something that she would do in the future. She said that, *"I do recognise the importance of it and it is something that I think I would like to spend more time on in the future"*. Knowledge pertaining to whakapapa has been passed down both orally and in a written form, however there are different benefits of each. The oral form encourages whanaungatanga and returning to the marae while the written form is just a back up and is lifeless without actual people, places and events. Similar to other cultural practices, the eldest generation hold the information and when appropriate this responsibility is passed down to the next generation.

Continuity for the future

Retaining and maintaining knowledge for future generations was discussed and all of the whānau agreed that this was important, although the transmission of the knowledge varied from each whānau. The Ngāti Raukawa whāea felt that she had fulfilled her responsibility and had *"instilled some good qualities, enough for my girl to pass down to her child or children and if not, then I am sure that I will be the one to remind her"*. This indicates

that there is ongoing support and guidance from the older generations and that there may be a special relationship between the kuia and mokopuna kōtiro to whom this knowledge is transferred. The Ngāti Raukawa whānau thought that the passing on of knowledge was a natural process and it happened throughout the stages of growing up, where certain information is passed down at appropriate ages and times adding to the moral and value base of each child. The kuia from Ngāti Raukawa affirmed that *“some of the stuff comes natural really, you have just called it te ao Māori, I think that I have grown up with what to do and how to do it”*. She discussed that she has grown up Māori accessing rongoā, reciting karakia and burying her children’s placenta where this knowledge is part of her upbringing and it comes naturally to her. She did not necessarily see this as te ao Māori, however she recognised that she had passed down the knowledge to her daughter and in turn her daughter has passed the same knowledge to her children.

The concept of whanaungatanga was common during the process of intergenerational transmission of knowledge within the Ngāti Porou whānau where they looked forward to whānau hui and sharing knowledge as it doubled as whanaungatanga and *“just keeping that connection”* (kuia from Ngāti Porou). This indicates that knowledge sharing also develops a sense of whānau within the members of the collective. Her daughter had similar views where the knowledge would be passed down within the whānau in the form of *“whanaungatanga”*. She explained it as *“a flow; it’s not a hard thing or a struggle to pass that information down because we are talking about it all the time”*. Whanaungatanga is a natural cultural process for Māori to share knowledge.

Sharing knowledge for their future wellbeing was very evident within all three whānau. All of the participants were able to identify many forms of how they were transmitting the knowledge, for example, orally and formally during whanaungatanga, or informally through having conversations with each other, or whilst forming their children’s moral and value base. They saw this as their responsibility within the whānau role as a kuia, whāea or kōtiro.

Conclusion

This chapter was able to celebrate the voices of Māori women from three different whānau. It gave an opportunity for them to discuss their understanding of te ao Māori knowledge and how this was passed down to the next generation. It also attempted to present common themes; at times this was depicted between the generations (kuia-whāea-kōtiro) while at other times it was within a generation (kuia-kuia-kuia) and still other times it was between whānau. The themes began with traditional te ao Māori which reflected whānau and Māori cosmology. Contemporary te ao Māori emphasized colonisation and the effects of western influences, living in two worlds and blended families, adaptation and loss

of te reo Māori. Cultural practices and activities captured cultural revitalisation with the significance of karanga, kapa haka, tāmoko and the arts and the influence of spiritual beliefs and Christianity. Healing interventions, birthing practices and returning of the whenua were also discussed. Transmission of knowledge highlighted different ways of recording knowledge and the continuity for the future generations.

Generally, te ao Māori knowledge was still being passed on between generations, however the knowledge itself had developed with the influences of colonisation and the means in which it was transferred have also changed. The knowledge was mainly held by the eldest generation, the kuia, whose responsibility was to pass this on when appropriate. The younger generations were aware of their impending role however their reluctance or naivety (considering their age) may have a prime factor in seeing the value in the knowledge at this stage.

These results will now be analysed alongside the literature to highlight similarities or differences with the narratives of those interviewed.

Chapter Six: Discussion

Analysis should be approached as a critical, reflexive and iterative process that cycles between the data and an overarching research framework (O'Leary, 2005:203). This chapter will discuss the data that was gathered with the literature provided in order to answer the research question of *“Are Māori women the protectors of te ao Māori knowledge?”* Similar to the headings that have been previously used eight themes are presented: te ao Māori-traditional, te ao Māori-contemporary, cultural practices, spirituality/Christianity, healing interventions, birthing practices, transmission of knowledge and continuity for the future.

The literature review provided a history of Māori women from a traditional te ao Māori context through to the events that were particular to the three generations of women finishing with contemporary te ao Māori times. This included the influences of a western society which in many cases had created barriers for Māori women and their ability to pass or transfer important information down to their offspring, or changed some of their worldviews so that they were contradictory to Māori philosophies. Linking the data gathered with the literature will provide a robust analysis in terms of the research question.

The whānau interviewed came from rich backgrounds that had close generational relationships and strong opinions about aspects of the research topic. This chapter does not individually identify the participants by iwi but generalizes their position as kuia, whāea and kōtiro. In parts it also refers to all of the kuia, or all of the whāea indicating that each generation had similar views about the subject. When identified as all of the whānau/participants this signifies that they all were in agreement.

Traditional Te ao Māori

Te ao Māori is a term loosely translated to mean ‘the world of Māori’. In this research it is used to describe Māori living in Aotearoa prior to western influences. It includes the lifestyle, practices, philosophies/ideologies and values/beliefs of Māori of that time. Despite the little literature written by Māori or from a Māori perspective in regards to this era (Buck, 1977; Kawharu, 1975; Marsden, 1992; Mead, L., 1996; Metge, 1967; Rangihau, 1975; Walker, 1990) the participants all had strong opinions about what constituted te ao Māori. This in itself suggests that the participants have gathered their understandings from elsewhere such as being passed down orally by their tūpuna or within their whānau. Furthermore, the participants identified and discussed some specific examples of te ao Māori.

One of the common themes discussed was the importance, structure and purpose of whānau and how it differs to the western concept of family. Best (1924:3) wrote about the social organizations of Māori and described the family group as whānau who were kindred to each other regardless of inter-marriage and generally consisted of three to four generations. The participants' confirmed whānau as extending to all living generations and relatives and also emphasized the interdependent nature of whānau where collective wellbeing is protected by expressing manākitanga (care) for each other as opposed to oneself (Mead, 1997; Metge, 1967). Communal living was a huge part of the traditional whānau structure (Buck, 1977; Durie, A., 1997; Mead, L., 1996; Metge, 1967; Morehu, 2005; Walker, 1990) where it was the responsibility of everyone within the whānau to raise the young, maintain whakapapa links and share resources. However, these social networks of collective wellbeing were systematically displaced with the urbanization policies of the 1930s to draw Māori out of rural communal living and into a nuclear family household in the suburbs (Belich, 2001; Labrum, 2004).

The participants proved that not only have some whānau managed to re-create a sense of collectivity by housing more than two generations, but also by having maintained very close links with other generations and relatives throughout Aotearoa/New Zealand. These close networks ensure ease of access to and sharing of resources such as knowledge pertaining to te ao Māori.

The concept of whānau is also illustrated in the Māori cosmologies with the relationships formed between the atua. The participants referred to Māori cosmology as the place where the formation of a moral and value base occurred. Marsden (2003) believed that cosmology is a method of expression that forms cultural values. Believing that Maori cosmologies are "constructs" of reality and the messages of deeper meaning are construed within the narratives. Ranginui and Papatūānuku were specifically mentioned although the term tūpuna was also used which may indicate an awareness of a range of significant others such as atua and those who have passed on as emulators of these values. The participants may have felt that the era of their tūpuna was more closely aligned to these Maori cosmologies, both in terms of whakapapa but also in terms of their daily practices. This reinforces the link between those from traditional te ao Māori and those of contemporary realities which are maintained by the passing on of knowledge and re-enactment of those values in each generation. It also supports the reality that in the eyes of the participants cosmologies are an integral part of Māori whakapapa, not just simply myths (half truths) as is often depicted in the story books or in our education system.

The narratives that foretold stories particularly about women such as Papatūānuku, Hine-ahu-one; Hine-ti-tama and Hine-nui-te-pō illustrated the significant female role in cosmology. The participants' position, role and attributes in their own whānau took its bearings from these atua. For example, they are all part of protecting knowledge, sharing it

with the next generation and continuing whakapapa (Cheung, 2008; Te Rito, 2007; Walker, 1993). Whakapapa is the link to the past, present and future (Cheung, 2008, Williams, 2008). It also links Māori to the natural environment such as land, mountains, rivers and sea (Barlow, 1991; Durie, M., 2001; Marsden, 2003; Mead, H., 2003). This connection is reinforced in pepeha,³⁰ where Māori acknowledge their geographical markers as well as their familial connections (Cheung, 2008). All the participants were able to link themselves to their tribal markers and where they belong in their whānau.

However, what was obvious amongst the participants is that the whāea and kōtiro were not as exposed to traditional te ao Māori as the kuia may have been before urbanization. There was therefore less discussion on a traditional perspective from those two generations than there was about contemporary te ao Māori knowledge.

Contemporary Te ao Māori

The kuia compared contemporary te ao Māori with their experience of a more traditional te ao Māori of their days as a child. They had lived through many changes in te ao Māori and had personal experience of adaptation to modern times. All of the kuia grew up in a rural setting where the marae was a central point to their whānau and hapū (Kawharu, 1977; Rangihau, 1975) and living communally and sharing resources were not uncommon. They emphasized the change from rural to urban living and how they thought te ao Māori had to adapt to changing times. For example, some tikanga are no longer adhered to as its function has been made redundant and the marae is now utilized more for special occasions such as weddings, birthdays or tangihanga as opposed to the central social, cultural and political hub for the collective (Mikaere, 2003). Some tikanga and kawa have become more rigid as people cling on to strict observance as the last bastion of traditional te ao Māori without realizing that the underlying values and principles do not need to change and can adapt to the times (Mikaere, 2003; Pihama, 2005). For example, the kuia felt that the role of kaikaranga has become more standardized and there is less of a natural spiritual guidance from tūpuna/wairua that was evident in their day (Irwin, 1992; Mikaere, 2003; Smith, L., 1992). While the kōtiro knew where their marae were and still have a strong affiliation to them, two of the kōtiro are not from the area they reside in and so returning to the marae is not so frequent. However, they have navigated access to institutions and spaces that provide opportunities to privilege tikanga Māori and mātauranga Māori such as whare wānanga, (an institution similar to mainstream universities) Kōhanga Reo (learning nests for preschool children and their whānau) and Manu Kōrero competitions (Te reo Māori

³⁰ Pepeha is a term used to identify their tribal connections and acknowledge their creators (Williams, 2005)

competitions for high school students). These are initiatives that have been set up in order to address the needs of Māori in a western society.

Colonisation was simply defined by the kōtiro as one culture imposing on another. The kuia and whāea felt that strands of colonisation had directly affected their whānau and Māori. For example one kuia remembered how she struggled at school with the English language and how she was not allowed to speak te reo Māori (McCarthy, 1997; Pihama, 2003; Selby, 1996; Tomlins-Jahnke, 1997; Walker, 1990). On the other hand, two of the whāea felt that te reo Māori is a 'birthright', although they were born in the time when the establishment of Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa occurred and te reo Māori became an official language in Aotearoa/New Zealand (1970-80s) (Morehu, 2005; Ritchie, 1992). The kuia spoke of blatant colonisation practices which were indicative of their time, while the whāea(s) comments reflected the cultural revitalization movement of the time in the 1970s and the kōtiro(s) holistic definitions illustrated that colonisation has taken a more indirect institutional form which can be identified as hegemony.

Colonisation has also meant that these women have had to learn to live in two worlds, where although they are Māori, they had to adjust to living within another cultural social structure. One of the kuia felt that her upbringing was from a Pākehā world but she always acknowledged her Māori side. This was more noticeable when she went to school and mixed with different cultures (Selby, 1996) and again when she started working in a town. The kuia had a strong moral and value base centred on te ao Māori philosophies and a connection to their roots, but their education and employment were based around the ideologies of a western culture.

All whānau were a part of a blended family where either they were married or had a parent that identified as another culture. Borrell (2005), in her writings also discusses the changing nature of Maori family and which cultural worldview tends to be more prominent within the blended family. The participants did not identify any overt issues with this although they did talk about compromising (Harrè, 1964) and that due to the fact that ~~the~~ ~~participants~~ were already immersed in another culture it was often their partner or father who had to accommodate to things Māori. This would be a change from the literature on colonisation which would suggest that the adaptation and change was invariably on the part of the Maori. Examples of this were apparent when the participants also stated that compromise revolved around certain responsibilities in regards to the upbringing of their children, accommodating extended whānau and attending whānau gatherings. The decision making was sometimes conflicting with each other's worldviews.

Cultural Practices

Cultural practices that were identified in the interviews were mainly focused on activities that the whole three generations were interested in or were familiar with. For example one whānau had an enriched whakapapa that demonstrated the women came from a long line of weavers, whereas another whānau emphasized their love for kapa haka and performing. Another significant practice recognized was karanga (Ferris, 2004; Hibbs, 2006; Mikaere, 2003; Scott, 2006). The cultural practices in regards to te ao Māori were allocated according to age (Mikaere, 2003) therefore one of the roles that were given to an elderly woman was kaikaranga. This was because they were no longer at a child birthing stage of their life and that they may have been more in tuned with the spirit world (Mikaere, 2003). All three whānau felt that the role stayed with their kuia until such time that the kuia teaches the next generation or the role is passed down from the kuia. Although the participants did not comment on the historical reasoning behind the role of kaikaranga and why it should stay with the kuia (Mikaere, 2003; Karetu, 1992; Rangihau, 1992), there was somewhat of a hidden message that was clearly relayed to the researcher of “that’s the way it has always been done”. As the exploration of traditional Māori philosophies are a focal point within this research, the karanga can also be found within the narratives of Papatūānuku and Ranginui and the wairua connection between them (Ferris, 2004; Hibbs, 2006). One example is Papatūānuku crying for Ranginui, depicting the call to join her as a karanga, or Hine-nui-te-pō embracing the ones who have passed on and ready to enter the spirit world (Hibbs, 2006).

Māori have the ability to capture and transmit knowledge through waiata or moteatea,³¹ (McLean, 1977) that includes whakapapa, place names and distinctive locations known to their whānau. Waiata can express love for people who have passed on, new births or discuss battles and loss. It can also symbolize whanaungatanga, relationship building and the merging of two people. Kapa haka was discussed within one whānau who were very much involved at an international and national level. The kuia and whāea described kapa haka as one of their passions, whereas the kōtiro generalized a love for all music and singing. The kōtiro was the youngest out of all the participants and music was seen as an important medium of communication (Biasiny-Tule, 2007). While kapa haka is still an option for the rangatahi, music from different cultures is just as important to them and their peers. Kapa haka may be seen as a different form of expression and more closely linked to the Māori identity (Papesch, 2007).

Tāmoko was a practice within one whānau but not in the other two whānau. To this whānau, it represented their whakapapa and maintaining their identity as Māori (Nikora, Rua, Te Awekotuku, 2007). As a whānau they had experienced wānanga where they had learnt

³¹Waiata can include oriori (lullaby), moteatea (chants) and waiata tawhito (traditional songs).

about whakapapa, whanaungatanga, karakia and waiata before actually commencing with the tāmoko process. Tāmoko is very much a practice that has been revitalized within the last two decades (Te Awekotuku, 2002) and is increasingly common among many Māori in today's society. Similar to traditional times, tāmoko contains personal information about a person's lineage, iwi and whānau connections (Simmons, 1986; Palmer & Tano, 2008) and each moko is completely unique to the person who wears it. In one whānau the kuia who was not interested in pursuing a tāmoko and therefore this was also apparent in her daughter and granddaughter. Interestingly, when asked what her thoughts around tāmoko were, they were connected to pain rather than the cultural significance of getting a tā moko (Te Awekotuku, 2002).

Cultural practices were very important to all the whānau, with each whānau expressing a passion in a different area, and they all knew the importance of maintaining that cultural practice and passion within their whānau. Their dedication to these practices was taken seriously and they also gained a lot of satisfaction in pursuing it. While there were definite cultural practices highlighted in each whānau, there were also practices and activities the whānau were not strong in at all, for example, one whānau were not interested in pursuing kapa haka while the other whānau thrived in kapa haka.

Spirituality/Christianity

All participants had some Christian connections but also strongly aligned themselves to atua Māori. This was practiced through karakia or waiata connecting to lo matua kore and atua. One of the participants felt that spirituality came from their inner self and the connection came from respecting herself. While there was not a strong alignment to Christianity, there was still an association in caring for their wairua. While the identified Christian religion was Catholic from most of the participants, they also acknowledged their Māori beliefs, for example, tapu and noa or the importance of karakia were still significant principles the participants believed in. Christianity was something that was passed down through the generations from their whānau members who practiced the religion within their extended whānau and the influences of the missionaries in the early 1900s.

The literature stated that when Christianity arrived it also brought patriarchal beliefs where men were the privileged within the household while women and children were subservient (Awatere, 1995:35; Irwin, 1988; 1992; Jenkins, 1986; Mikaere, 2003). Christianity also impacted on Māori spirituality which altered the way Māori practiced their own beliefs (Lee, 2007:43; Mikaere, 2003). Māori women were guardians of Māori spirituality (Jenkins, 1986) and spirituality was practiced within the child birthing processes,

they held roles as *tohunga* or *matakite*,³² and were able to connect the physical world with the spiritual world through *karanga*. It is evident in Māori cosmology where the narratives tell of female deities possessing spiritual powers, for example the *kuia* of Māui (*Mahuika*) who was able to ignite her fingers to produce fire (Alpers, 2001). All three *whanau* did not reveal any *tohunga* or *matakite* amongst them however they did acknowledge their beliefs around their spirituality and their alliance was more strongly with *atua* Māori. Some of the participants were aware of the processes within and around their religious connections to the Catholic Church and did respect that belief regardless. Other participants found that they did not align themselves to any religion but did believe in a higher being.

Māori spirituality and Christianity, contrary to each still cares for a person's *wairua* and faith and acknowledges there is a higher being that is not visible in the physical world. Māori spirituality is evident in their worldviews and their value base. Christianity was brought to Aotearoa by the missionaries in the nineteenth century giving Māori an alternative approach to religious beliefs based on English values (Walker, 1990). The participants have been affected by this within their *whānau* but also remain true to *te ao Māori* principles and as part of their involvement within the realm of *te ao Māori*, the wider Māori society and their worldview base within their own *whānau*.

Healing Interventions

This section revealed differences between generations where the *kuia* and two of the *whāea* were able to discuss *rongoā* and their views on alternative healing, while all of the *kōtiro* either had limited knowledge of *rongoā* or preferred to access mainstream medical advice. All *kuia* lived rurally when they were younger, where resources from the *whenua* were utilized for various reasons such as healing physical ailments. Urbanisation impacted on the health of Māori who struggled to maintain a healthy lifestyle given the many illnesses that were unfamiliar to them (Durie, M., 1994). Their *tūpuna* had been faced with major influenza epidemics which had wiped out much of their population and land wars in various parts of the country that had also impacted on their population. Within the generations of the *kuia*, *whāea* and *kōtiro* they were also introduced to many other ailments which dramatically impacted on Māori. The *kuia* all found it hard to adjust to mainstream medicines and continue to use *rongoā* where they can.

One *kuia* talked about the impact of the Māori Women's Welfare League and this groups attempt to help Māori *whanau* address health and other related issues for Māori living in the city. Māori Women's Welfare League were able to address some of the issues within

³² *Matakite* is a term used to identify Māori can foresee the future, seers, clairvoyant, or posses special abilities (Williams, 2005).

Māori communities and later utilize the marae (Durie, M., 1994; Ratima, Paul, Skegg, 1993; Taiapa, 2008; Te Puni Kokiri, 1993) to promote Māori health. While the participants did not discuss their views on Māori health, it was apparent that the attitudes in healing had changed throughout the generations where the kuia have an abundant knowledge about using natural remedies as an alternative to healing. The whāea were able to relate to some of the traditional rongoā however the kōtiro had limited to no knowledge or did not access any form of natural healing. The health issues throughout the generations had also changed and although the Māori Women's Health League were actively involved in earlier years (Szasz, 1993), there are now other health providers that are available to address a different set of health issues. All participants are either involved in working in the health sector or have accessed their assistance.

Birth Practices/Returning the Whenua

The comments around birthing practices and returning of the whenua were not a part of the original interview schedule, but consistent comments arose across all the generations about this topic and its importance to them as a group of Maori women. All but two of the participants (the kōtiro) had given birth but they too were very involved in raising their younger siblings. It was evident that there were differences of experience with each generation. The kuia had an unpleasant experience birthing their children where the whānau were not involved in the birthing process and they felt displaced in the hospital environment with the placenta not being offered or returned to them. The whāea commented that their experiences were happy memories with their whānau around them supporting the process, their mothers (the kuia) were able to offer guidance in relation to the placenta and the hospital accommodated their needs. The one kōtiro that has experienced child birth was offered a Māori midwife, demonstrating that western practices are becoming more responsive to the needs of Māori.

In the kuia generation, legislation that was introduced in the 1900s had prevented Māori women from giving birth traditionally (Wepa & Te Huia, 2006). Home births diminished around the 1960s and access to the hospital was utilised (Mikaere, 2003; Palmer³³, 2002). Cultural practices were not encouraged, for example, the celebration of whare tangata, the use of karakia, waiata or blessing of the baby's arrival (Binney & Chaplin, 1986; Coney, 1993; Mikaere, 2003). The processes were led by hospital staff and there was no consultation with the mother-to-be or the whānau about how the processes would occur. The kuia interviewed were visibly upset with their experiences giving birth, however they ensured that their daughters had a positive birth experience where the kuia talked about

supporting them and ensured that the placenta was returned to the whenua (Durie, M., 1998; Walker, 1990; Wepa & Te Huia, 2006). This process allows the link between the child and Papatūānuku to occur and the continuation of Papatūānuku to feed and nurture the child until death (Wepa & Te Huia, 2006:26). It was found that because of the experiences the kuia endured, their guidance and support to their daughters has prevented a continuation of violated unsafe practices relating to the sacredness of child birth. This was a highly emotive topic for the kuia but also one of determination that these practices not be repeated in the ensuing generations. The kuia had taken a proactive stance of informing their daughters of the importance to return the whenua back to Papatūānuku, whether that be the kuia or the whāea themselves.

A slight improvement to accommodate Māori women giving birth in the hospital setting has now occurred and the needs of Māori through the training of midwives and Maori midwives has transpired which considers traditional practices to ensure that they are not lost. This includes tapu around women handling food while pregnant, preparation around a whare kōhanga, chanting of whakapapa and supporting the mother in birthing positions that is accommodating and comfortable to her own needs (Durie, M., 1998; Madden, 1997; Metge, 1976; Mikaere, 1994; Wepa & Te Huia, 2006). The unpleasant experiences the kuia had, has placed a positive impact on the next generation in regards to the birthing processes.

Transmission of Knowledge

Discussions around the passing down of whakapapa revealed that most of the information was transmitted through oral conversations. All three whānau still preferred to transfer knowledge and whakapapa, visually and auditory, for example, by meeting whānau members, talking to each other about their extended whānau or whanaungatanga, through whānau reunions, whānau gatherings such as weddings, birthdays visiting urupā or tangihanga. Although all of the whānau had identified whānau members who have a written collection of documents around whakapapa, there was a sense of satisfaction around retaining knowledge and whakapapa through oral transmission. The whakapapa does not link back as far as Māori cosmology but conversations may reach four to five generations back.

Traditionally information was passed orally through whare wānanga and it was the responsibility of the whole whānau unit to bring up the children (McCarthy, 1997; Walker, 1990). It was also the responsibility of the mothers to start that process through the use of waiata, oriori, or pūrākau (Metge, 1976; Wepa & Te Huia, 2006). It was believed that the older women would also share their knowledge and wisdom to the young (Binney & Chaplin,

1986). This may also be through waiata and oriori which contains copious amounts of information pertaining to whakapapa, geographical information and historical events that may have happened. Other skills such as preparation of food, weaving, birthing practices and dance were taught to the young (Mikaere, 2003). It was evident within the three whānau that they had adopted a skill within their whānau that has been passed down through the generations like weaving or kapa haka. This significant practice highlighted the knowledge that was important to them and possibly the other knowledge that may have not been pertinent to them. One example might be that only one whānau were immersed in te reo Māori but the others were not fluent speakers.

The kōtiro of the three whānau were at different levels of their learning, where they were able to identify strongly with outside influences who contributed to their knowledge base, for example, one kōtiro learnt te reo Māori from Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa. Another kōtiro had extensive knowledge of the historical events relating to Māori learnt at tertiary level. Schools and universities are now appreciative of Kaupapa Māori and can now accommodate Māori students that are interested in learning Māori studies. Other mediums of learning manifest in television, radio and internet (Mataamua, 2006) where Māori women can access whakapapa, te reo Māori, waiata and Māori women health issues. The kōtiro all knew that they could access information from their grandmothers and mothers or any other role model available (McCarthy, 1997; Smith, L., 1992; Tomlins-Jahnke, 2000) and they knew who in their whānau had access to whakapapa orally or written. The line of communication within the three whānau was not obstructed and all participants knew at least three generations in their whānau. If they wanted more access to Māori knowledge they knew that they could obtain it through other mediums. They appreciated the importance of continuing the flow of information to the next generation and keeping it going for the future.

Continuity for the future

Although the support for the continuation of te ao Māori to the next generation was evident in all the participants, the method of transmitting the knowledge has changed through the generations and within whānau. For example, one whānau feels that whanaungatanga is the way that information is passed down to the next generation where whānau hui are able to provide that process, whereas another whānau felt that it is a natural process and it happens naturally throughout the stages of growing. Each generation expressed a different method of receiving the information based on their environment and the respective years that they had been brought up in. The kuia all grew up in a rural setting where their caregivers provided an abundant amount of knowledge based on the natural resources around them, whereas the shift to urban living found the whāea still having access to the rural life but also learning how

to live in an urban situation where te ao Māori was shared with Māori that came from different iwi. The kōtiro, urban born generation has access to technology and the school system has adjusted to catering to Māori needs. They can access the information not just from whānau but from other sources outside the whānau circles (Walker, 1989; Durie, 1994).

Māori are natural orators where information and knowledge were passed down through speaking, action, singing or reciting. However European contact introduced literacy where everything was recorded (Te Awēkotuku, 1991), therefore having two forms of transmitting knowledge. While this was seen as diminishing the oral traditions (Mikaere, 2003), it has accommodated the generations where the knowledge has been retained in written form and is now being accessed. On the other hand, the system Māori had in place ensured that the right people received the right knowledge and information pertaining to their own whānau, hapū and iwi stayed within their social structures (Smith, L., 2003). The adjustment from rural to urban and the impact of colonisation could have very easily destroyed the access to information but there is encouragement for Māori to take control of their own research, given that the information provided by non Māori has been distorted (Pihama, 2005; Smith, L., 2003).

The resurgence of Māori in the 1970s fought for Māori to have their own learning systems in place, for example, the start of Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa which was able to continue the passing down of te reo Māori, tikanga and histories (Morehu, 2005; Ritchie, 1992). The information that has been passed down through the generations are of oral and written form, the importance for this to continue is certainly present within the three whānau but the method of passing this down has adapted to the generations. The content of the information has changed also under the influence of colonial society (Smith, L., 2003). However “there is still a strong belief held by many Māori people that there is a uniquely ‘Māori’ way of looking at the world and learning” (Smith, L., 2003:174).

Conclusion

Three whānau interviews were able to capture the voices of three generations of Māori women. While the content in each interview were slightly different, there was a remarkable similarity within each generation and each whānau. Te ao Māori depicted *whānau* for some of the participants where there is a significant importance to them and their philosophies and value base is centred on their own whānau unit. While there were discussions around blended whānau, it was not an immense issue and some whānau found that it contributed to their unique worldviews. The participants all agreed that they believed in spirituality, where they were able to feel comfortable in the process of karakia, the issue was around the blended beliefs of Christianity and atua Māori. It was apparent within the

three generations that the kuia were able to relate more around rongoā and alternative forms of healing, whereas the younger generation preferred mainstream medical interventions. Birthing processes and the returning of the whenua provided an extensive discussion about the difference in processes and experiences. While this proved to be an unpleasant experience for the kuia, it had vastly changed for the whāea with the support of the kuia. The improvements to the hospital systems have now allowed the younger generations to access Māori based treatments, staff and have whānau a part of the birth.

Transmission of knowledge ensured that this is happening in the three whānau however there are different views in regards to the process. One whānau felt that whanaungatanga with the extended whānau is able to sustain those relationships; another whānau felt that it is a natural part of the whānau processes. All whānau agreed that it is important to ensure the continuity of te ao Māori knowledge including whakapapa reaches the next generation whether it is orally transmitted or recorded on paper.

While it was apparent that te ao Māori knowledge was being passed down from generation to generation in the three whānau interviewed, there were two obvious issues that were highlighted. Firstly, the knowledge that has been passed down has changed and adapted to the changes within Aotearoa/New Zealand. The shift from rural to urban made an impact from the kuia to the whāea, for example, some of the healing processes had been lost and the birthing practices improved. The introduction of Christianity in Aotearoa/New Zealand saw a merge between English religion and atua Māori but the kōtiro interest is not that strong in aligning themselves to any religion although the respect for spirituality is apparent. The impact of colonisation is evident throughout, where the whānau have adapted to living within two cultures but believe they are able to maintain who they are as Māori women. The second issue is the way the knowledge is being passed down is changing. The kuia were able to involve the whāea in cultural practices that are pertinent to their whānau and there is an excitement to carry that on to the kōtiro, however it seems that the kōtiro, while they know that their kuia and whāea have that knowledge and are accepting of it, they also have access to outside influences such as their schools and technology.

It seems there is a distinct influence in all generations to ensure there are certain practices and beliefs that continue to be passed down. It has also been identified that there barriers from the blend of the western culture that have seen important traditions from te ao Māori diminish or no longer carried on through the generations. While the participants demonstrated competently that information was reaching the younger age group, this is not a reality base in all Māori whanau where their moral and value base is not te ao Māori focused and it might also be that the amount of knowledge is slowly being watered down through the generations.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion and Recommendations

The aim of this research was to examine how te ao Māori knowledge has been passed down to the next generation and it asked '*Are Māori women the protectors of te ao Māori knowledge?*' The research explored understandings of traditional te ao Māori (prior to western influences) and compared these with more contemporary understandings of te ao Māori. It also examined significant influences in three contemporary time periods that may have affected these understandings. Three generations of Māori women in three whānau were interviewed drawing on aspects of critical theory, kaupapa Māori and mana wāhine research approaches. These provided a foundation for the participants' experiences to be acknowledged, their understandings to be valued and their voices to be heard. The findings highlighted some common themes in each generation as well as similar views in each whānau. The understandings gathered were compared to the corresponding literature and analysed. Influences on the participants' understandings of te ao Māori knowledge and barriers to passing it on were identified. These factors have contributed to the change in the way the knowledge has been protected and passed down.

This chapter will give a brief summary of the main conclusions of each chapter, address the objectives which were introduced at the start of the thesis and provide a personal reflection on the research process. It will also recommend further research opportunities in this field as well as recommendations for Māori women to consider as protectors of te ao Māori knowledge.

Summary of Chapters

Chapter one set the parameters for this research. It identified the objectives and methodology that would be utilised in order to create a safe environment for voicing and valuing Māori women's understandings and experiences. Key definitions and issues were defined. My interest in conducting this research arising from my upbringing and my journey to address my own needs as a Māori woman living in Aotearoa/New Zealand was revealed.

The second chapter contextualised the research by exploring te ao Māori from a traditional perspective prior to European contact. It discussed some of the female deities in Māori cosmology and drew on key concepts which illustrated Māori women's roles and responsibilities. This chapter was pivotal in identifying a te ao Maori world and the ensuing chapters would link back to Maori cosmologies and how the knowledge and practice continues to be passed down through the generations.

Chapter three was divided into three sections to delineate the time periods that the participants were most influenced by. It reviewed significant events and discussed how they affected Māori women who grew up in the periods 1930-1960, 1960-1990 and 1990-2010. In chapter four, the methodology and methods used for this research were discussed. Aspects of kaupapa Māori, critical theory and mana wahine approaches to research were utilised to address the social, cultural and gender position of the participants. It included the selection process for the participants and ethical considerations.

The fifth chapter presented the data from the interviews, celebrating the voices of three generations of Māori women within three whānau. The responses were themed as: traditional te ao Māori, contemporary te ao Māori, cultural practices, spirituality and transmission of knowledge. There were also subthemes which broke down these themes even further. The voices of the participants within each of their generations as well as across the generations offered powerful examples of how they were affected by policies and practices in their generations, but also what they learnt from this in terms of carrying down key messages to the next generation.

Chapter six analysed the participants' responses with the literature from chapters two and three. The responses confirmed and extended on many of the assertions of the literature, however there were some differences highlighted. This chapter also provided a clear picture of the potential outcomes and recommendations that will be offered in this final chapter.

Chapter seven concludes the thesis, shares some personal learning from the research process and provides some recommendations for future research.

Objectives fulfilled

The objectives proposed at the start of the research have been achieved.

The first objective was to: identify the roles and responsibilities of Māori women in Māori society pre European contact (before 1800s) including the female deities in Māori cosmology. This was addressed in chapter two as a background discussion of relevant literature. Māori women had certain roles and responsibilities in communal living and in their contribution to the collective. They were not merely whare tangata (child bearers) but also protectors and transmitters of knowledge, to ensure the continuity of culture and future generations. Their philosophies came from female deities within the narratives of Māori cosmology. For example, Papatūānuku illustrates the unique relationship between Māori women in particular as well as the land and their role as child bearers and nurturers of humankind. The participants' understandings of this time also emphasised the importance of

whānau and the women's role in relation to other whānau members and the wider collective wellbeing and learning.

Objective number two was to: consider how te ao Māori knowledge has been transmitted down through three generations of women from three different iwi groups. In chapter five the participants' responses to various questions about their understanding of te ao Māori demonstrated what and how this knowledge was being transmitted to the next generation. In doing so, it also highlighted the influences and the barriers that the women encountered as protectors and transmitters of this knowledge. Although the three whānau came from different iwi and had many other differences, they all came from enriched cultural backgrounds with a positive experience of growing up and having a strong affiliation to their own iwi and culture. Te ao Māori knowledge was being passed down by the women through a variety of mediums; however the knowledge was evolving with the change of times. It was also evident that the knowledge resided predominantly with just one generation at a time, until such time as it was appropriate to pass on to the succeeding generation.

The third objective was to: explore the impact that colonisation had on the transmission of te ao Māori knowledge including the effects of urbanization, feminism, Christianity, assimilative policies in education and the like. This objective was addressed in the literature review and illustrated in the participants' responses. There were many significant events in Aotearoa/New Zealand that impacted on Māori women as protectors and transmitters of te ao Māori knowledge. This included the effects of colonisation on the overall social and cultural institutions of Māori in particular urbanisation's displacement of the social and cultural support structures of Māori communities. Christianity has replaced traditional Māori religious beliefs and practices and western movements about women's rights have despite promoting women's issues, affected the balance between male and female roles. Government assimilative policies such as mainstream education have systematically undermined the role of whānau and culture, all of which may have contributed to how Māori women have transmitted knowledge to the next generation. The interviews revealed how colonisation had affected each generation differently and had interfered with the flow of knowledge.

Objective four was to: determine how te ao Māori knowledge contributes to the future aspirations of Māori women. The last objective was met with the participants' responses. They all agreed that it was important to pass on the knowledge of te ao Māori to the next generation and for future generations. They were actively practicing this within their whānau. The participants related to their own whānau stories and had an enriched sense of identity as Māori as a result. For example, they were comfortable in the cultural practices that were adhered to in their whānau and able to recognize their role and responsibilities within their whānau. They were able to seek out information about their heritage from their own whānau, hapū and iwi through natural processes such as whanaungatanga.

While the literature and interviews provided the knowledge base for this research, there was also a journey that was endured personally as the researcher.

My Personal Journey

I struggled through this research only because I felt out of my depth in terms of the topic and not having an enriched background in te ao Māori knowledge myself. However, as the research developed my knowledge grew and I became very passionate and eager to learn more. The commitment to writing a thesis is profoundly overwhelming and the journey it took me on was even greater. The pressures of working full time and studying part time increasingly placed extra demands on my life however; the topic ultimately engulfed all my attention. When I was able to dedicate the time to my studies, I found the learning invaluable. It has opened opportunities for me to develop professionally and give back to my own whānau. It recognises and adds to the knowledge base about Māori women's roles and responsibilities for the next generation. As a Māori social worker, I am confident that I can use this research to develop therapeutic programmes that focus on intergenerational trends in whanau, hapu and iwi. It has also enabled me to work with tangata whaiora around self identity and discovering their Māoritanga within themselves. This research has definitely contributed to my professional development as a social worker and a Māori woman.

I have learnt the importance of nurturing our young and strengthening their knowledge base of te ao Māori. It seems that the source for this learning lies in the narratives of Māori cosmology and the histories of our tūpuna. Although I have not grown up with the teachings of te ao Māori, it now remains part of who I am and part of the lifetime journey that I have started. It also sets precedence in ensuring that I contribute to the next generation's learning of te ao Māori knowledge and encourage other Māori women to do the same.

The participant whānau

The participants were all actively involved in Māori networks and communities and institutions such as kapa haka, kohanga reo, Māori tertiary education, as part of their employment and social gatherings. They strongly and positively identified with their whānau, hapū and iwi despite not residing within their tribal boundaries. The results may have been different if the participants were not so proactively involved in their culture and connected to their wider collective. While I am appreciative of the participants and their privileged

backgrounds, it is acknowledged that there are many whānau in Aotearoa/New Zealand and abroad who are not so fortunate to have been passed on knowledge about te ao Māori. This may have been due to the influences affecting the protection and transmission of this knowledge being too much for certain whānau. For some whānau, who already have other pressures such as low education levels, inadequate housing, ill-health and unemployment there is little time and energy left for cultural development. This research hopes to provide some ideas for those whānau who may seek this knowledge later in life as I have.

Further Research opportunities

This study focused on the intergenerational transmission of knowledge within three generations of Māori women. Future exploration around our Māori men would be just as valuable. Mikaere (2003) highlights the balance destroyed between Māori women and Māori men as a result of colonisation. It is important for both genders to pass down te ao Māori knowledge to the future generations. This will also contribute to repairing some of the damage done, for example, fragmented whānau, loss of culture and tikanga and establish the equilibrium of male and female roles and responsibilities within whānau, hapū and iwi.

The research identified the significance of whānau and how te ao Māori knowledge is protected and transmitted within the whānau. There has been a substantial amount of research undertaken on whānau (Bell, 2006; Durie, A., 1997, 2006; McCarthy, 1997; Metge, 1976; Moeke-Pickering, 1996; Morehu, 2005; Walker, 1990). Research specifically exploring how whānau illustrated in Māori cosmology provides examples of how to protect and transmit knowledge and the roles and responsibilities of each whānau member would be useful. For example, the characteristics of the deities could be used to work with contemporary whānau to understand their traits and their roles within the whānau unit as well as the long-term patterns. The tools and practices that our tūpuna left us must be treasured. The more research we undertake around our Maori cosmologies and the life and practices of our tupuna, the more we will be able to transfer to the generation of today and in turn they will recognise the values and the practices that are important within their cultural context. This could include self awareness about where they came from, who they are and where they are heading embracing the concept of past, present and future. As a whole whānau, this adds strength and sustainability to all the generations.

Recommendations/Considerations

Out of this research come key recommendations. They are provided to build on the body of knowledge and understanding that Māori women are in a position to ensure that the next generation receive te ao Māori knowledge. It also adds to the lack of knowledge available to whānau nurturing the development of cultural knowledge and practices of our next generation. The recommendations also acknowledge that contemporary whānau are diverse in nature and come with many different dynamics such as fragmentation, blended heritages, dysfunctional lifestyles and isolation. Therefore, sometimes the journey may start at an individual level where one person can be responsible in learning the knowledge, developing it and passing it down to the next generation. While the beginning or the start is relative to the individual or whānau, the focus remains the same. For example, if a kuia decided to educate her mokopuna on te ao Māori knowledge, the information passed down is still relevant even though she has started the journey later in her life. The following are some recommendations that could improve the transmission of knowledge to future generations.

Embrace our kuia

In the time period 1930-1960 the start of urbanisation began, oral traditions were diminishing, traditional birthing practices were changing, Christianity had a huge influence and there was a reduction in whānau size. Through this change many of our kuia maintained some fundamental knowledge pertaining to te ao Māori. She is the closest generation to our tūpuna and she may have experienced living in a rural communal setting close to her marae prior to moving to the cities. Her guidance is essential for leadership and it is a legacy that needs to be captured and nurtured. It is recommended for all whānau that they utilise their kuia for her traditional values and beliefs. It is also proposed that the relationship between the older generation and the younger generation is encouraged and strengthened.

Regular whānau gatherings

The conception of time within te ao Māori depicts significant events, generations, or geographical changes. Gathering for a whānau hui in contemporary times usually happens at tangihanga, weddings or birthdays. The focus is on the event and prevents time to share knowledge as a whānau. Constraints such as employment commitments, financial issues, geographical distance and whānau dynamics inhibit the process of further meetings with extended whānau. It is recommended that whānau address these restrictions and prioritize gathering with whānau specifically to explore whānau stories. This will recognise the

potential in whānau strength and value the knowledge whānau have to offer. This may start from the immediate whānau unit so that the education starts in the household and then extend to include whānau whanui.

Exploration around traditional te ao Māori as a value base

This research focused on te ao Māori knowledge within the generations. While it is acknowledged that Māori live partially in a western society, the value base for Māori does not need to be similar to Pākehā. The values illustrated in Māori cosmology provide the key concepts for a healthy and positive wellbeing. These can be adapted to contemporary times as a therapy base, healing intervention or strengthening ties within the whānau, hapū and iwi. It is also imperative that the knowledge is shared with the next generation creating a way of life within the whānau unit. It is recommended that whānau have access to facilitated processes that demonstrate the knowledge base of our tūpuna and narratives of te ao Māori. This could be in the form of decolonisation or whakawātea (cleansing) programmes, where a journey occurs to acknowledge the past, present and future (Bell, 2006). “An opportunity to decolonise the mind and spirit, and consider one’s future development is the anticipated outcome of this process (Bell, 2006; Herd, 2006; Smith, L., 1999). This research also provides another perspective for Māori Social Workers to explore historical issues with whānau by working from the past, to the present and build towards the future (Bradley, 1994).

Critiquing Western Ideologies

Māori have their own set of philosophies pertaining to their own Māori worldview in te ao Māori. It has been one hundred and seventy years of westernising and diminishing Māori ideologies, practices and attachment to the land. The results show in the negative intergenerational trends and the statistics in health, education, justice and housing. We as Māori need to be more critical of western ideologies and challenge their hegemony of Māori ideologies. This may include supporting Māori to care for their own people in relation to educating Māori on te ao Māori knowledge. This can be accommodated within the education system, within the household, and within the whānau. It is recommended that by embracing our own Māori worldview and sharing te ao Māori knowledge with the next generation, the struggle towards self determination and ensuring a ‘for Māori by Māori’ approach is continued for the benefit of future generations. It maybe that we also need to ensure that challenges of western ideologies that further perpetuate oppressive lifestyles for Maori whanau are challenged.

Māori kaimahi as change agents

The final recommendation focuses on Māori kaimahi who work with whānau, hapū and iwi. Ruwhiu (1995:21) believes Māori practitioners working from ‘their own cultural baselines are indeed informed practitioners in their own rights’. Theories based from a Māori worldview enable kaimahi to work within a holistic approach and utilise Māori concepts already provided by our tūpuna. Māori models of practice as well as Māori frameworks are available for kaimahi to employ when working with whānau who are ill-informed of te ao Māori knowledge. It is recommended that Māori kaimahi working within social services; that their theoretical framework should reflect a strong *ko wai au?* component first and foremost and embrace Māori philosophies. “Tangata whenua stories are examples of these theoretical paradigms that underpin appropriate forms of knowledge acquisition for Tangata whenua involved in the social service delivery arena” (Ruwhiu, 1995:22).

Conclusion

This research has drawn from well informed academics who believe that Māori have their own knowledge base, ideologies and worldviews. It has also shared a journey of three generations of Māori women who have successfully endured many obstacles and barriers to protecting and transmitting te ao Māori knowledge. Fortunately, they have managed to hold on to a small but integral part of te ao Māori and they have also managed to share their knowledge with the next generation. It is recognized that the knowledge has changed through the generations and some of the ways in which it has been transmitted has also changed. While there are many whānau who have not had the opportunities to practice this, it is hoped that this research will provide awareness to others that the value base lies with those who have left it behind to embrace.

Te ao Māori knowledge is a unique worldview pertaining to Māori. Māori women have a window of opportunity as the primary nurturer to play a critical role as transmitters of knowledge to their children. The challenge now is to reclaim, revitalise and reform that knowledge base back into whānau and keep passing te ao Māori knowledge through the generations.

Papatūānuku te Matua o te tangata,³⁴ Tihei Mauri Ora

³⁴ Papatūānuku is the parent of all.

Glossary

This glossary depicts Māori to English words which are loosely translated and does not show all alternative meanings.³⁵

aroha	to love, feel pity on, feel compassion
atua	ancestor with continuing influence, deity
awhinatanga	to embrace, to cherish
haka	to dance, perform, preparing for warfare
hakurangi	female ariki
hapū	kinship group or pregnancy
hauora	healthy well-being
Hine-ahu-one	first woman created by Tane
hinengaro	mind, thought, intellect
Hine-nui-te-pō	woman of death, receives spirits
Hine-tī-tama	woman before Hine-nui-te-pō
iwi	extended kinship group, tribe
kai	food, meal
kaikaranga	woman who performs a ceremonial call
kaimahi	worker, particular Social/community
karakia	prayer
karanga	ceremonial call at a powhiri
koroua	elderly man, grandfather
mana	prestige, influential, status
mana tane	high status man
mana tangata	represents leadership
mana wahine	high status woman
manuhiri	guest, visitor
marae	front of the wharehau
mate Māori, mate kite or Mata Māori	Of special powers, foresees the future
matua	father, parent, uncle
Mauī	character of te ao Māori narratives
mauri	life force
mirimiri	to rub, to soothe, massage
moko kauae	piercing of the skin (tattoo on chin)
mokopuna	grandchild, descendant

³⁵ Sourced from Te Ake Māori-English, English-Māori Dictionary and Index (2005)

noa	unrestricted, common
oriori	lullaby
papa kāinga	home base, village
Papatūānuku	Mother Earth
pūkōrero	be well informed, orator
pūrākau	ancient legend, story, narrative
rangatiratanga	chieftainship, sovereignty
Ranginui	Father sky
rongoā	remedy, traditional medicines
tā moko	traditional Māori tattoo
tamariki	children
tane	men, male
Tangata Whenua	people of the land, indigenous group
taonga	gift, special treasures
tapu	restricted, sacred, forbidden
Te ao Mārama	the world of light
Te Kore	the nothing, emptiness
Te Pō	the world of darkness
te reo Māori	the language of Māori
tikanga	correct procedures, customs
tino rangatiratanga	self determination
tohunga	proficient, expert
tūpuna	ancestors, grandparents
tūpuna wahine	female ancestors
uha	female essence, femininity
utu	revenge, maintain balance
wahine	female, woman
waiata	general song(s),
wairua	spirit, quintessence, soul
wairuatanga	extension of wairua
whaikōrero	to make a speech, orator
whakapapa	genealogy, heritage, lineage
whakatāuki	Māori proverb
whānau	family unit
whanaungatanga	relationships, connections
whare	house, home
whare kohanga	a birthing house
whare tangata	womb

Appendices:

'Māori Women are the Protectors of te ao Māori knowledge'

Participant Information Sheet

Tena Koe

Ko Paul'e Aroha Ruwhiu taku ingoa

No Ngāpuhi, No Ngātiporou aku karangatanga

Ko Puhunga Tohora, Ko Hikurangi nga maunga

E rere ana taku awa, ko Waiapu ki te Moananui a kiwa

waiho aku Tipuna a ratou tapuwae, ki Otaua, Ki Mangakahia, Ki Horoera, Ki Te Araroa

Tihei Mauri Ora

My name is Paul'e Ruwhiu; my tribal links are with Ngāpuhi and Ngātiporou. I have lived in Palmerston North for eight years with my partner of ten years and my eighteen year old son. I am employed at Mid Central Health, Oranga Hinengaro Māori Mental Health Services as a Psychiatric Social Worker. I am currently in my third year of my Masters degree in Social Work. The next two years I am focusing on my thesis as a requirement towards my degree therefore my passion lies with my topic of Māori women being protectors of te ao Māori.

The purpose of the research is to look at three generations of one whānau (researching three Māori whānau and explore how the philosophies of te ao Māori are passed down through each generation. It will look at the time periods between 1930-1960 (past) and 1960–1990 (present) then 1990-2012 (future). This will incorporate kuia (grandmother), whāea (parent) and kōtiro (girl). I chose this research project to find out what information our kōtiro; our next generation are receiving from their kuia or whaea vital to the continuation of te ao Māori concepts and tikanga.

Supervisors:

My supervisors are Wheturangi Walsh Tapiata, a Senior lecturer from the School of Health and Social Services and Dr Rangi Mataamua from Te Putahi-a-Toi, the School of Māori Studies. Both can be contacted through Massey University.

The Aim of the Research

The aim of this research is to focus on three generations of Māori women in one whānau (researching three whānau) and look at how te ao Māori knowledge is passed down through the generations. This will include exploring the holders of whakapapa, waiata and handing down of traditional stories to each generation.

Participant Recruitment

It is essential that you can link yourself to the following iwi, NgāPuhi, NgātiPorou or Ngāti Raukawa. This is to ensure a variety of tribal traditions are covered within the North Island region. You will have to be of Māori descent and of female gender to which this research is focused upon.

The criteria for eligibility is that the whanau will include a kuia born in the years of the 1930's, a whāea born in the years of the 1960's and a kotiro who is born in the years of the 1990's.

The research will have three members of one whānau from each iwi listed which makes nine participants in total. The interviews will be audio taped and transcribed by a neutral person who has signed a confidentiality agreement.

The interview will be organized in a culturally appropriate manner where karakia is done to open and close the interviews. Whanaungatanga time between the researcher and the participant will be conducted before the interview and refreshments will be provided by the researcher at the end of the interview.

No discomfort is anticipated for you as the participant; however should you experience any uneasiness then the interview will cease upon your instructions, this will include turning the audio tape off. It will then be discussed further on how best support can be provided for you.

Project Procedures

You will be sent the edited version of the interview for you to read and make any changes to the content. You will then be asked to send it back for any adjustments, along with a release of transcript form which will indicate the changes you may wish to make and that you give your permission for the interview content to be used in the research.

It is envisaged that the final edited transcripts will be bound together along with a photograph of your whānau (participants of the research) which will be presented to you as a taonga (gift). If you do not want this to occur please indicate to me and then we can alternatively have a discussion along the lines of other ways of preserving this taonga.

The audio tapes will be given back to you unless you decline to which they will be wiped or destroyed. The consent forms and transcriptions will be retained for five years and any information that is stored on a computer will be controlled by a password known only to me.

Participant involvement

The interviews will take place at a location that will be suitable to you and your whanau. This will be discussed with you prior to the interviews starting and all the necessary documentation is confirmed and signed.

It is expected that the interviews will be conducted within a day timeframe therefore all three generations will need to attend an individual interview and then meet together at the end of the day for a reflection session.

Participant's Rights

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- decline to answer any particular question;
- withdraw from the study within two weeks prior to the start of the interviews;
- ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- provide information on the understanding that my name will not be used unless I give permission to the researcher before the research proceeds;

- be sent a summary of the project findings when it is concluded.
- ask for the audio tape to be turned off at any time during the interview.
- review the edited transcriptions and provide any changes/alterations

If this research project is something that you think you might be interested in being involved in or you have any further questions you want to ask please contact me on the details below.

Nga mihi ki a koe

Paul'e Ruwhiu

1. LOW RISK NOTIFICATIONS

This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher(s) named above are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research.

If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Professor Sylvia Rumball, Assistant to the Vice-Chancellor (Ethics & Equity), telephone 06 350 5249, email humanethics@massey.ac.nz".

'Māori Women as Protectors of te ao Māori Knowledge'

Participant consent form

This consent form will be held for a period of five (5) years

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I agree/do not agree to the interview being audio taped.

I wish/do not wish to have my tapes returned to me.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

If I decide to participate, I have the right to:

- * decline to answer any particular question;
- * withdraw from the study within two weeks prior to the start of the interviews;
- * ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- * provide information on the understanding that my name will not be used unless I give permission to the researcher before the research proceeds;
- * be sent a summary of the project findings when it is concluded.
- * ask for the audio tape to be turned off at any time during the interview.
- * review the edited transcriptions and provide any changes/alterations

Signature:

Date:

.....

Full Name - printed

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